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A

BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE

OF THE

ENGLISH DRAMA

Dedication.



TO

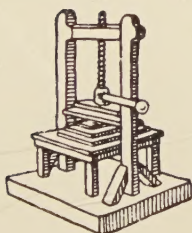
MY WIFE AND MY SON,

MY ONLY HELPERS IN THIS TOILSOME WORK.

A
BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE
OF THE
ENGLISH DRAMA
1559-1642

BY
FREDERICK GARD FLEAY

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME I.



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A BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE
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(ADAMSON—JONSON.)

A BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE
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INTRODUCTION.

THIS book in outward form closely resembles the *Biographia Dramatica* of 1764, 1782, and 1812, founded on Langbaine's *Dramatic Poets* of 1691, which contains all that is of any value in J. O. Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old English Plays*, 1860, a mere scissors-and-paste compilation, with a few additions, but inaccurate and void of all historical grasp of the subject. Langbaine's book was excellent for its date, and the successive labours of Baker, Reed, and Jones, the editors of the *Biographia*, had considerable value; but Halliwell, by ignoring all notice of the biographies of dramatic authors, deprived their work of its principal recommendation to notice as a guide to the student. Yet his book has hitherto been accepted as our chief work of reference on this important subject it is a misleading and careless one in every way. The present attempt to supply the deficiency of a dramatic history, or rather chronicle on which a future history should be based, however like its predecessor in appearance, differs

altogether in import. The *Biographia* professed to give lives of the playmakers similar to those in any other Dictionary or Cyclopaedia, and, alongside of these, lists of their plays, in order of publication, with such brief notices of the plays themselves as could be gathered from their title-pages, with such additions as could be gathered from the imperfectly understood stage history of the early theatres and acting companies. My object has been to arrange the plays in order of original production, with such notices of their authors, and such only, as bear upon the history of the drama itself. The ideal of my work would be reached if I could give for every play, from the opening of the theatres in 1576 to their closure before the civil wars in 1642, the authorship in each instance, the date of original production, the theatre at which it was acted, the company by whom it was played, the relation it bore to other plays and to dramatic history generally. This is a vastly more extended scope than anything hitherto attempted, and satisfactory results are not always attainable; but I trust that my readers will find that in most cases of importance I have hit, if not the bull's-eye, at any rate an inner ring. Many of the larger problems, such as the separation of the authorship of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio, the chronological arrangement of Fletcher's plays, the dates of production of the plays of Heywood, Dekker, Chapman, Webster, &c., were regarded as insoluble even by Dyce, the best of play-editors. How far this is the case the reader may judge for himself. But the value of solution, when attainable, is considerable. Daily the mass of idle guess-work accumulates into dust-heaps; we are deluged with such stuff as treatises on Shakespeare's supposed thefts from Montaigne, Jonson's supposed satire of him as Crispinus, Chapman's supposed authorship of *Bernaveldt*, *Alphonsus of*

Germany, and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, Shakespeare's supposed writing for the Admiral's men at the Rose, and the like. All this "literature" (bless the mark!) will surely be spared if we can get a trustworthy record of what really was doing in the theatrical world in Shakespeare's time and immediately after. One-third of the Variorum notes of editors would be saved, and the only loss would fall on the writers of popular handbooks on early dramatic authors, who would lose all chance of padding their stolen materials with futile and mutually destructive hypotheses of fictions, leasings, and chimæras. It will perhaps be the readiest way to accentuate this statement if I now lay before the reader the plan on which the present work is disposed.

The authors are alphabetically arranged. Under each name I give first a list of his extant dramatic works in order of publication, then such particulars of his career as have any bearing on dramatic history; but I have endeavoured to eliminate everything which, however interesting as regards the man, is unconnected with him as a writer. In other words, I have relegated many things which would rightly find a place in a Biographical Dictionary, while I have inserted many other things, often of the most trivial value in themselves, but of import from their connexion with or alluding to circumstances that determine date, authorship, &c., of the plays here treated of. In this matter I differ largely from men whose opinions in most things I greatly respect. I am, as Furness puts it, "more clamorous than a parrot against rain" about these trifles, and "to my temperament" the subject has the deepest "relation to the play itself, and to the enjoyment thereof." See Furness' Variorum *As You Like It*, 304. I do not care to know whether *Troilus and Cressida* was acted in

1601 or 1607 as an abstract separate fact any more than Furness does, but I do care to know Shakespeare's relations with Ben Jonson; and when I find that, from an exact determination of the date of this play, I am led by a gradual induction (as will be seen in the body of this book under Jonson's *Poetaster*) to the conclusion that he satirised Jonson therein, and that the play containing this satire was acted, not on the London stage, but at my own University, then I acquire an interest in these dates somewhat greater than in the "cost per yard of Rosalind's hose." I will now go further: if I could find an entry in some newly discovered Diary—say Burbadge's—of Rosalind's hose, I would note it carefully; for it was by the entry of Labesha's son's hose in Henslow's *Diary* that I proved that the *Humours* acted at the Rose was Chapman's *Humorous Day's Mirth*, and not Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, and thus demolished the elaborate structure raised on that insecure guess by Collier and his followers. Hundreds of such instances will be found in subsequent pages. I have also, in some instances, apparently been very inconsequent in the details of non-dramatic work by the authors of whom I treat. For example, I have for Greene, Nash, and others given elaborate lists of their prose works, while even the poems of Lovelace, Sackville, &c., are passed over without mention; but the reason is, that I am writing a Biographical Chronicle of the Drama, not a Historical Biography of the Dramatists. The notice of the prose works of Greene, with their changes of motto, was absolutely needed to determine the chronology of his plays and to destroy Simpson's figments of his relations to Shakespeare, while any mention of *Lucasta* would not have advanced my investigations by one jot. Moreover, I should only have been increasing the bulk of my book by doing what had already been well done by others.

After these life-noticees I give a detailed notice of the author's plays (whether extant or not), in chronological order. In most instances I have succeeded, I believe, in ascertaining this, and in supplying the previously unknown names of the theatres and companies of their first production. Of course, these depend largely on my previous *History of the Stage*; but the reader will, I think, have confidence in the results obtained in that book, now that they have been endorsed by the, as far as I know, unanimous¹ verdict of the press. In fact, had it not been for the genial sympathy of the reviewers (may I, among so many, mention especially the *Spectator* and the *Manchester Guardian*?) I should not have proceeded with the present book, which will supply some *lacunæ* and correct a few errors in the former one (mostly errata merely), but far fewer than I had dared to hope for; indeed the general confirmation of the one series of investigations by the other—which, be it noted, could not have been produced independently—is most striking, and proves the general accuracy of the earlier series.

In the publication lists and in the detailed notices of plays each play is preceded by a reference number, which is also used in the Index. As these numbers are for reference only, and in many instances had to be inserted after the first trial list was indexed, I find it far less likely to introduce errors if I asterise the inserted titles than if I

¹ One instance of the contrary has reached me since I penned the above text. A lady critic in *Poet Lore*, 1891, March, complains that mine is one of the books "a little dull at first glance, because stuffed so full of details." She has not grasped the purport of the book: it is a lens to aid the sight, not an eye to see with, and requires an eye behind it. The lens without the eye reveals no order, and therefore no beauty. The eye is in her wanting, as is evident from her concluding sentence, in which she ranks the book as second to my *Life of Shakespeare*. Nevertheless her notice is, on the whole, genial and favourable, though not appreciative.

go over the whole list and renumber from the beginning, especially in the plays of anonymous authorship. The reader will therefore frequently meet with 150* and the like, where, if a perfect list had been at first accessible, I should have written 151, &c. This will not cause any practical inconvenience.

In determining authorship (especially joint-authorship) the ground is apparently not so firm as in the other problems, because internal evidence much more than external has to be taken into account; and the personal equation of the critic, his crotchets, weaknesses, and other disabilities, may interfere with the accuracy of his results. Yet the all but unanimous agreement of subsequent critics with what I published in 1874 on the authorship of plays attributed to Shakespeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Rowley, and Massinger (I except Middleton and Field, whom I had incompletely studied, and concerning whom I advanced nothing but what was expressly stated to be conjectural) encourages me to believe that in this matter also I have succeeded in getting near the truth. The evidence adduced in the present work is of a different character from the metrical considerations in my early work, but it must not be supposed that these have been neglected when not expressly referred to. I see no good end in reproducing the elaborate tables I have already published for Shakespeare, Fletcher, &c.; and in other instances, such as Heywood, other tests are more available. Nevertheless, every play that I possess has been metrically analysed, and I hold the results ready for reference at the service of any critic who may desire to avail himself thereof. In no single instance have I found a contradiction between this kind of evidence and other kinds in determining authorship, and in very few cases have I found it useful in determining date. This arises

partly from the truism, that only the greatest minds (Shakespeare, to wit) develop in form continuously throughout their career, but still more from the fact that plays were altered for revivals, Court performances, &c., at dates long apart; and it is not till we know the stage history of a play that we are in a position to disentangle the added and reformed parts, which is a necessary preliminary to the application of metrical tests, but which, at the same time, makes the application needless. It may be well, however, to refer here to my *Shakespeare Manual* for a few notes on the chief playwrights' metrical characteristics.

There is a closely allied method of testing the chronological arrangement of poets' work, of which, being chiefly applicable to non-dramatic forms, I must here give only one illustration—I mean the elaborate choice at different periods of different forms of versification. Those who care to pursue the subject will find further applications to Spenser and Chaucer in other publications of mine. I here choose Drayton because the succession of his writings is valuable for Dramatic History. The notation adopted is, I think, self-explanatory; it is fully exemplified in my *Logical English Grammar*, and is, so far as I know, the only complete metrical notation for English verse as yet proposed.

I begin with Iambic five-foot lines.

Quadrains, 5xa ABAB (Gondibert metre), used by Drayton in *The Harmony of the Church*, 1591, Nos. 8, 11, 14. *Eclogues*, 1593, Nos. 2, 4, 6, 9. *Moses*, 1630. *Elysium*, 1630, No. 10.

5xa ABBA, used in *The Harmony*, Nos. 2, 9, 10. *Elysium*, 1630, No. 4.

I think it fair to conclude that the "Quadrains" in *Moses* and the *Muses Elysium* were written very early,

c. 1592, though published late, in the year before Drayton's death. He had distinctly discarded this metrical form.

Quinzains, 5xa ABABB. *Eclogues*, 1593, No. 5.

Sestins, 5xa ABABCC. *Harmony*, 1591, No. 1. *Eclogues*, 1593, Nos. 1, 7, 8, 10. *Gaveston*, 1594.

Stanza of seven, 5xa ABABBCC. *Matilda*, 1594. *Robert*, 1596. *Mortimeriados*, 1596.

Ariosto's stanza, 5xa ABABABCC. *Barons' Wars*, 1603. *Cromwell*, 1607. *Margaret*, 1627. *Agincourt*, 1627.

Drayton, in 1603, deliberately abandoned all these stanzas except Ariosto's, and declared his reasons. The "often harmony" of the Septain was too soft; the Quadrain never brought forth "Gemells" or Couplets; the Quinzain too soon; the Sestin "hath twins in the base, but they detain not the music nor the close long enough." Surely this justifies me in making 1603 the commencement of Drayton's second manner.

Geminels, Heroics, 5xa AA. *Endymion*, 1595. *Heroical Epistles*, 1597 (written some years before). *Œwl*, 1604. *Man in the Moon*, 1605. *Mooncalf*, 1627. *Elegies*, 1627 (written earlier). *Elysium*, 1630, Nos. 3, 7. *Noe, David*, 1630.

Sonnets, 5xa ABAB, CDCD, EFEF, GG. Most of the earlier sonnets, 1594, are of this lax form, and this was the form adopted from Drayton by Shakespeare.

5xa ABBA, CDDC, EFFE, GG, Nos. 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 29, 34, 35, 40, 42, and one of the omitted early ones are of this form. I now note the long-line metres.

6xa AA.: *Harmony*, 1591, Nos. 1, 18, 20. *Polyolbion*, 1613-19. *Elysium*, 1630, No. 6.

7xa AA.: *Harmony*, 1591, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 15, 17. *Cynthia*, 1627.

6xa A, 7xa A.: *Harmony*, 1591, Nos. 3, 13. Then for shorter lines.

4xa ABAB.: *Harmony*, 1591, Nos. 16, 19. *Eclogues*, 1593, Nos. 7, 9. Of the varied short metres in the *Odes* and *Eclogues*, which, being used once only, cannot lead to any result in testing, I need not take notice, but the repetition of the following in the *Eclogues* and *Nymphal* is noteworthy:—

4xa AA.: *Eclogues*, 1593, No. 2. *Elysium*, 1630, Nos. 2, 3, 8.

2 (4xa A, 3xa B), Ballad metre: *Eclogue*, 9. *Elysium*, Description, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9.

2 (4xa AA, 3xa B): *Eclogue*, 4. *Elysium*, 3.

2 (3xa AAA, 2xa B): *Agincourt* (ballad), 1606. *Elysium*, 3.

The metrical test would lead to the conclusion that the *Nymphals* (with *Cynthia* and *Sirena*) were written much earlier than the publication date, or that Drayton in his age recurred to his 1605 manner, but I must refer for this to the article in the body of this book.

Thus far I have endeavoured to justify my assumption in the title that I have written a Biography of our earlier Drama; I have yet to show in what sense it is also a Chronicle. While considering the form in which I should arrange my material I was met by a great difficulty. If I adopted the arrangement on which I ultimately decided, there would result a book of reference useful, I hoped, and certainly in far the greater part of it new, but not as a whole chronologically arranged. If I attempted to place the authors in the succession of time, after the fashion of Morley's *History of English Literature*, I should have to dislocate the careers of many authors; for how else could I treat of Jonson, Heywood, Massinger, &c., whose careers extended over several

periods of the divisions into which I should necessarily have to separate the subject? And, moreover, the careers of many authors—as, for instance, of Chapman, Marston, Dekker, Heywood, &c.,—which run parallel for their mainly important early portions, are widely separated in their later divisions. After much consideration I hit on what seems to be a solution of the difficulty. I shall place at the end of the Index a list of authors who wrote for one company, only arranged chronologically, and also a table in which the theatrical career of each author who wrote for more than one company will be indicated by dates. Opposite each name will be found the time during which he was connected with every company for which he wrote. This will give, in brief, his theatrical biography. But, as I have shown in my *History of the Stage* that only five companies were acting in London at one time, I have only to arrange these dates in five vertical columns to obtain simultaneously with the authors' careers, which occupy horizontal lines, a statement of which of these authors were at any given date engaged in writing for any individual company. Thus, if the reader merely wishes for information as to Marston, he will at once turn up Marston's name in the book in its alphabetical order. If he desires to know about *Eastward Ho*, or any other play, he will seek out the play in the index; but if he is looking for the details of all that was doing by the Chamberlain's company between 1594 and 1603, he will run his eye down the last column of this table and look up the separate notices of every author, Shakespeare, Jonson, Drayton, &c., who therein have dates opposite their names, and then refer to the other list; and, finally, if he desire a complete chronicle of our drama, he can examine the whole book in the order in which the names are given in these tables, with the assurance that he will thus omit no name

of any particular importance. These tables apply to publicly acted plays, not to masks at Court or University plays. The case of divided authorship is further provided for by numerous cross-references in the body of the work. So much for publicly acted plays. For University plays (English and Latin), masks, entertainments, &c., separate indexes are given; and a *résumé* will also be found of the University plays, &c., with cross-references, in the body of the work. I trust that this arrangement will be found convenient, and justify the heavy labour it has cost me.

I must now make a few general observations. The outcome of the detailed investigations of this treatise has been entirely satisfactory in confirming the results of my former work; it has brought out some things to be added thereto, but has disclosed very little to be taken from it; it has especially confirmed the main division therein adopted into periods. (1.) The first period, 1557-1586, enters only slightly into the present treatise, although I should not have felt justified in omitting mention of any play known to have been produced between those dates. It was the time of the birth of Tragedy and Comedy, and of the decay of Moralities. I would call it the final period of Interludes, or if, following Ruskin's well-chosen method, we name it after the author then most conspicuous, the period of Lyly, or still better, of Wilson. (2.) The second period, 1587-1593, is undoubtedly to be named from Marlow; it was in it that Tragedy, especially Historic Tragedy, assumed a complete form in all essential particulars. The Comedy of Greene was quite subordinate. (3.) The third period, 1594-1603, is that of Shakespeare (as a writer of Comedies and Histories). No name appears by the side of this central figure at this epoch; for whatever stir the theatrical war of Jonson, Marston, &c., made at the time,

it was ephemeral and resultless. (4.) The fourth period, 1603-1615, I name that of Jonson, as a mask-writer, in spite of its being the time of the highest tragical development of Beaumont, of Webster, and, above all, of Shakespeare; for their tragedy was, though colossal, still simply the outcome of Marlow's—the manhood, so to say, of the vigorous youth of the earlier bard. But the Jonsonian mask was, alike in its dedication to Court patronage and in its introduction of expensive dresses, properties, and movable scenes, pregnant with imminent change which would affect the whole manner of presentation for the future post-Restoration public stage, and whose influence is overwhelming even in our own time. I mark these epochs by birth-dates rather than by maxima of development, and in this one the higher tragedy died in the fulness of its strength, not leaving offspring for the stage even in the works of Shelley or Browning, while the mask was the parent of our modern Shakespearian revival, with its incidental music, of the scenery and dress of modern presentations, with all their local colour of the Terpsichorean ballet, and even of Wagnerian opera. (5.) The fifth period, 1616-1625, is of course the period of Fletcher, the time of Tragi-Comedy, in which the seeds of decay first begin to germinate. (6.) The sixth period, 1625-1636, that of Massinger, is that of Historical Tragedy, not the Chronicle English History of Shakespeare, but the pseudo-classical or Byzantine History, in which, not presentation of fact, but distortion of fact to political ends, disguise of contemporary events under the costume of antiquated stories, is the main-spring of the machinery; and finally, (7.) the period 1637-1642 is that of Shirley at the Blackfriars as a reviver of the Tragedy of the early Jacobean time, the only period of Shirley's work of real importance—his comedies of

the preceding period having little more significance in general dramatic history than those of Brome or Nabbes, however interesting they may be to the antiquary and to the dramatic specialist for their connexion with the work of other and greater men. Such is the division almost forced on us in this investigation, and fortunately exactly coinciding with that previously obtained from entirely different considerations.

I cannot pass over in silence one point which has been impressed on me at every step in this long labour—the central importance of Ben Jonson. Fourteen years since, in a conversation with the present Laureate at his Haslemere mansion, he rebuked me for my comparatively low estimate of his illustrious predecessor; and although he has since forgotten me (for what reason I know not), I have not forgotten one word of the many weighty apophthegms which he uttered in that two days' converse. I have since then studied Jonson deeply, and I do not exaggerate when I say that, although Shakespeare is the central figure in our dramatic literature, Jonson certainly is the central figure in our dramatic history. In the variety of his work, plays, poems, masks, entertainments, and especially in his *Discoveries* (the full value of which has been appreciated, as far as I know, by no one till Mr. Swinburne—to whom, by-the-bye, I owe a debt of gratitude for personally directing my attention to Chapman twenty-six years since); in his connection with the Court; in his multiple relations with “great ones,” as shown in his numerous poems addressed to them; in his large acquaintance with other authors, from Selden to Coryat; in his origination of new dramatic forms of masks, comical satire, and induction; in his personal experience as actor on many stages; in his personal biography, of which we know more (thanks to

Drummond) than of any other of the great dramatists; in his adoption of author "sons" (the playmakers, Field, Brome, Cartwright, Marmion, Randolph, Suckling, Rutter, Falkland, Digby; to say nothing of Bishop Morley, Sir Henry Morison, Herrick, and Howell); and in his unique knowledge, among dramatists of his time, of the only other dramatic literature of anything like equal importance with our own;—he stands pre-eminently foremost. No wonder that Drayton calls him "long lord here of the theatre." Nor did his influence cease with his death. Through his "sons" he founded a school of dramatic writing which is far more than anything else the connecting-bridge between ante and post Restoration drama. Shakespeare founded no school; he, like Milton, Dante, Angelo, Blake, Browning, and other men too great for imitation, produced his influence silently and unawares; no Laureate complaint that "Brome" had appropriated his sweepings or called his flower a weed ever escaped him; but his very greatness, like that of the large-lettered name of a country in a map, made him less recognisable and less prominent in a chronicle like the present than that of Jonson, whose name may rather be compared to that of a large town with many suburban villages around it. For his predominant influence on the careers of all the next greatest dramatists to Shakespeare I must refer the reader to the articles on Fletcher, Beaumont, Field, &c., in the body of the work. I need hardly add that the characterisation of Volpone along with "some of Balzac's master-pieces" as human reptiles "over-fattened in the vast slime of the poet's brain" by Mr. J. A. Symonds is to me most repulsive, and I might use a stronger word.

I need, I think, say little as to the pressing need for a book of this kind. If the earlier literature of England has not lost for the coming generation all its interest through

the detestable practice of cramming undeveloped brains with shilling primers and Clarendon Press editions with notes compiled from Concordances and Dictionaries (among which I do not include A. W. Ward's scholarly *Faustus and Friar Bacon*); if the study of dramatic history is to be continued in the future by any one outside a circle of faddists who think that in perpetual statement of individual opinion as to whether *Andronicus* is or is not good enough to be Shakespeare's there can be any element of human interest; if the chronological succession of an author's works is a necessary basis for appreciating the value of each of them, and if the relations between different authors are of import in determining the position of each one in such a literary history, then such a book is absolutely necessary, not as being the history itself, but the preceding chronicle on which the history of a truly philosophical kind must necessarily be based. For such an entanglement as that presented by the prevailing arrangement by date of publication surely never existed elsewhere: owing to the retention by the companies of most plays from the press, the publication date often differs half-a-century from that of original production; and this produces mischief extending far beyond even dramatic history. For instance, in the large *English Dictionary* edited by Dr. Murray the quotations of plays are frequently far too late, and the whole history of our language is thus reduced to an inextricable muddle; and I have no doubt that many quotations earlier than those given might be supplied by any one who will use this book of mine as a chronological guide. I did, indeed, offer to do this for that work, but, unfortunately, my handwriting was declared illegible (as it often has been by others—yet, strangely, printers do not complain of it); and although my name has been printed among the “readers” without my authority, and I am thus made responsible for

the fifty-one plays in the Fletcher folio, I never contributed more than a few notes for half-a-dozen.

But this last paragraph depends on numerous "ifs," and as to the first of these I am very doubtful. I have rather a large juvenile and communicative acquaintance, and I hear continually how hard it is for an Aske's schoolboy to recollect which plays were written by Shakespeare "up on the heights," and which "down in the depths;" what a bore it is in the City of London School to be told every week that Greene called Shakespeare a Shakescene; how unpleasant it is for a Queen's College student to be reminded at intervals of some ten days for six months together that Fleay (her uncle in this instance) is utterly wrong in his hypothesis about *Julius Cæsar*, that I greatly fear that Shakespeare, and, *a fortiori*, all the "mushrooms that grew under the Shakespearian oak," will be hated by the next generation as much as Cæsar and Horace, Thucydides and Euripides, were by the average schoolboy of my own time; while, as to the general public, any one who looks into the Transactions of Shakespearian Societies or Shakespearian periodicals—the American *Shakespeariana*, for example—or the publications of Delius or Delia, Ignatius Donnelly or Mr. Feis; nay, who even considers the amount of dust-heap to be sifted before Furness can issue one of his splendid Variorum editions, will regard any one devoting patient study to such matters as a probable monomaniac. But enough—I have written the book, and it must speak for itself. The plays therein treated of can speak also for themselves; many of them are of the immortals, and if neglected for a time through passing influences, they will again come into notice more brilliant than before.

EXCURSUS ON *THE MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES*.

As the importance of this series of poems as one of the principal *origines* of our historical drama has never been sufficiently recognised, I give an abstract of its contents, with references to plays more or less founded on them.

i. T. Marsh's original issue 1559, licensed 1558, but partly printed by Wayland c. 1655, and suppressed under Queen Mary. All these legends are "since the time of Richard 2." I give historic dates, authors, titles, and remarks.

1. 1388. Ferrers. *Robert Tresilian*.

2. 1329; 1387. Baldwyn. *The two Roger Mortimers*; cf. *Edward 2* and *The Fall of Mortimer*.

3. 1397. Ferrers. *Thomas of Woodstock*; cf. the older play on *Richard 2*.

4. 1398. Churchyard. *Lord Mowbray*; cf. Shakespeare's *Richard 2*.

5. 1399. Baldwyn. *Richard 2*; cf. *ibid*.

6. 1401. Phaer. *Owen Glendower*; cf. *Henry 4*.

7. 1407. Baldwyn. *Henry Percy*; cf. *Henry 4*.

8. 1415. Baldwyn. *Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge*.

9. 1428. Baldwyn. *Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury*.

10. 1437. Baldwyn. *James 1 of Scotland*.

11. 1450. Baldwyn. *William de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk*; cf. *2 Henry 6*.

12. 1450. Baldwyn. *Jack Cade*; cf. *2 Henry 6*.

13. 1460. Baldwyn. *Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York*; cf. *Henry 6*.

14. 1461. Baldwyn. *Lord Clifford*; cf. *Henry 6*.

15. 1470. Baldwyn. *Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester*.

16. 1471. Baldwyn. *Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, and John Nevil, Lord Montague*; cf. 3 *Henry 6*.

17. 1471. Baldwyn. *Henry 6*; cf. *Henry 6*.

18. 1478. Baldwyn. *George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence*; cf. *Henry 6*, *Richard 3*, *Edward 4*, *The older Richard 3*, *Richard Crookback*, *Henry Richmond*.

19. 1483. Skelton. *Edward 4*; cf. *ibid*.

ii. In Marsh's 1563 edition, reprinted 1571, were added as Part II. :—

20. 1483. Baldwyn? *Antony Woodville, Lord Rivers, &c.*; cf. *ibid*.

21. 1483. Dolman. *Lord Hastings*, cf. *ibid*.

22. 1483. Sackville. *Henry Duke of Buckingham (with Induction)*; cf. *ibid*.

23. 1483. Baldwyn? *Collinbourne*, executed for a foolish rhyme.

24. 1485. Seagers. *Richard Duke of Gloster*; cf. *ibid*.

25. 1483. Churchyard. *Jane Shore*; cf. *Edward 4*, *Shore's Wife*.

26. 1454. Ferrers. *Edmond Duke of Somerset*; cf. *Henry 6*.

27. 1496. Cavyl. *Michael Joseph the Blacksmith and Lord Audley*.

iii. In 1574 were published as a first part (because earlier historically) the legends by Higgins of mythical and Roman Britain, here numbered as in the ultimate arrangement :—

1. 1085, *Albanact* (cf. *Conan [Coron] of Cornwall*). 2. 1085, *Humber*. 3. 1064, *Lochrine*. 4. 1064, *Elstride*. 5. 1064, *Sabrina*. (On this group cf. *Lochrine*.) 6. 1009, *Madan*. 7. 1009, *Malin*. 8. 989, *Mempricius*. 9. 844, *Bladud* (cf. *Brute Greenshield and the Finding of the Bath*). 10. 800, *Cordila* (cf. *King Lear* and the older *Leir*). 11. 766, *Morgan* (cf. *ibid*). 13. 491, *Ferrex*. 14. 491,

Porrex (cf. *Gorboduc*). 19. 321, *Kimarus*. 20. 303, *Morindus*. 24. 52, *Nennius*. 25. 51, *Irelanglas*, cousin to *Cassibelan*, was added in 1575.

The only other addition in the editions of 1575, 1578 was an enlargement of the L'envoy from 5 stanzas to 15. But in 1578 R. Webster published a rival "second part," written by Blennerhasset only, containing the following legends:—

1. 17, *Guiderius* (cf. *Cymbeline*). 2. 219, *Carausius*. 3. 289, *Helena*. 4. 446, *Vortiger* (cf. *Valtiger* and *The Mayor of Quinborough*). 5. 500, *Uter Pendragon* (cf. *The Birth of Merlin*). 6. 683, *Cadwallader*. 7. 755, *Sigebert*. 8. 870, *Ebba*. 9. 872, *Alured* (cf. *Alfredus*). 10. 1016, *Egelrede* (cf. Edgar in a *Knack to Know a Knave*). 11. 1018, *Edric*. 12. 1066, *Harold*.

In 1587 Marsh added to his "First Part" of the *Mirror* the following "Tragedies" by Higgins:—12. 612 B.C., *Jage*. 15. 441, *Pinnar* (cf. *Mulmutius Dunwallow*). 16. 441, *Stater*. 17. 441, *Rudacke of Wales*. 18. 375, *Brennus* (cf. *The True Trojans*). 21. 235, *Emerianus*. 22. 137, *Charinnus*. 23. 136, *Varianus*. Then after 25 follows the envoy. Then 26. 44, *Julius Cæsar* (cf. *Julius Cæsar, Cæsar's Fall*). 27. 39 A.D., *Nero* (cf. *Nero*). 28. 42, *Caligula*. 29. 46, *Guiderius* (cf. *Cymbeline*). 30. 46, *Lelius Hamo*. 31. 56, *Tiberius Drusus*. 32. 70, *Domitius*. 33. 71, *Galba*. 34. 71, *Otho*. 35. 71, *Vitellius*. 36. 80, *Londricus the Pict*. 37. 213, *Severus*. 38. 213, *Fulgentius the Pict*. 39. 214, *Geta*. 40. 209, *Caracalla*.

There are also in this 1587 edition some modern instances added which would have suited the 1559–71 book better; these were:—

28. 1440. Ferrers. *Eleanor Cobham*; cf. 2 *Henry 6*.

29. 1440. Ferrers. *Humphrey Duke of Gloster*. But were not these two in the 1578 edition?

30. 1441. Higgins. *Sir Nicholas Burdett*.

31. 1513. [Dingley.] *James 4 of Scotland* (written fifty years since; cf. Greene).

32. 1513. Dingley. *Flodden Field*.

33. 1530. Churchyard. *Rise and Fall of Wolsey* (cf. *Cromwell*, *Henry 8*, *When you see me*, etc.; 1. 2. *Wolsey*).

Finally, in 1610 F. Kingston published an enlarged edition containing A. 1-40 from Higgins' 1587 edition; B. 1-12 from Blennerhassett's 1578; C. 1-27 from Baldwyn's 1571; and 28-33 from Newton's 1587, with the following exceptions. He omits 10, Baldwyn's *James 1*; 24, Seagar's *Richard 3*; 31, 32, Dingley's *James 4*, and *Flodden*: the *Richard 3* in favour of his own; the rest because they are on Scotch history. He adds:—

34. 1540. Drayton. *Lord Cromwell* (cf. 1. 2. *Wolsey*, *Cromwell*, &c.), and *A Winter Night's Vision*, by Niccols, containing the following: 1. *Arthur*; 2. *Edmund Ironside*; 3. *Alfred*; 4. *Godwin Earl of Kent* (cf. 1. 2. *Godwin*); 5. *Robert Curthose*; 6. *Richard Cœur de Lion* (cf. *R. C.'s funeral*); 7. *John* (cf. *John*, the older play, *John and Matilda*, *Look about you*, 8. *Edward 2* (cf. *Edward 2*, *The Fall of Mortimer*); 9. *The Princes murdered in the Tower*; 10. *Richard 3*.

He then appends *England's Eliza*. But all this Niccols group came too late to serve as foundation for plays; it was rather founded on them. Among rival legends to the *Mirror* should be noted Daniel's *Rosamond*, 1592; Lodge's *Elstred*, 1593; Chute's *Shore's Wife*, 1593; C. Middleton's *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, 1600; Giles Fletcher, senior, *Rising of Richard 3*, 1593; C. Brooke's *Ghost of Richard 3*, 1614; and above all these, W. Warner's *Albion's England*, 1586-1602.

THE
BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PLAYWRIGHTS,
1557-1642.
ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED;
WITH THE CHRONOLOGICAL SUCCESSION OF
THEIR WORKS.

Pierce Library
Eastern Oregon University
1410 L Avenue
La Grande, Oregon

ADAMSON, PATRICK. (Latin.)

1. *Herodes*, T. c. 1572.

AINSWORTH, GEORGE. (Latin.)

1. *Clytophon*, C. MS. in Emanuel Library, Cambridge, which belonged to a William Breton.

ALABASTER, WILLIAM. (Latin.)

1. 1632, May 9, for Andrew Crook. *Roxana*, T. 1632.

Born at Hadleigh, Suffolk; scholar of Westminster school; elected to Trinity, Cambridge, 1583; M.A. *ad eundem*, Oxford, 7th July 1592; chaplain to Robert, Earl of Essex in the Cadiz voyage, 1595; became a Roman Catholic, but returned to the Church of England; appointed prebendary of St. Paul's, D.D. and rector of Tharfield, Hertfordshire. Died April 1640. Nicholas Bacon of Gray's Inn was executor to his will.

1. *Roxana, Tragædia, a plagiarii unguibus vindicata aucta et agnita ab authore Gulielmo Alabastro* was several times acted at Trinity, Cambridge. There was an earlier surreptitious edition also dated 1632. (Hazlitt.)

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM; of Menstrie, afterwards Earl of Stirling. (Unacted plays.)

1. 1604, April 30, for Edward Blunt. Works, containing the Monarchic Tragedies, viz.—

1. *Darius*, T. 1604 (Edin. ed. 1603), 1607, 1616.

2. *Cræsus*, T. 1604, 1607, 1616.

3. *The Alexandræan*, T. 1605, 1607, 1616.

4. *Julius Cæsar*, T. 1607, 1616.

The text of the 1616 edition differs much from the earlier ones. These plays appeal solely to the literary student. In form they retain the Greek method, with expository pro-

logues, stichomythia, lyric choruses, and messenger narrations. As there is no trace of any connexion of Alexander with the stage beyond the lines to Alleyn, c. 1619 (Collier's *Alleyn*, p. 178), and even these relate to him rather as founder of Dulwich College than as player, any further details of his career in this place would savour of book-making.

ARMIN, ROBERT. (Actor and playwright.)

1. *The Two Maids of Moreclacke*, H. 1609. By N. O[kes], for T. Archer.

2. 1615, Feb. 21, for R. Lownes. *The Valiant Welshman*, T. C., 1615; 1663.

From a story in Tarleton's *Jests* (the second part of which was entered S. R. 1600, Aug. 4) it appears that Armin was born c. 1568, apprenticed to a goldsmith c. 1582, and adopted as his "son" and successor c. 1585-7. In 1590 he wrote a preliminary address to *A Brief Resolution of the Right Religion*. In 1593 Harvey mentions him in *Pierce's Supererogation* along with Stubbs and Deloney as a "son of Elderton" among the "common pamphleteers." Before 1599 he was one of Lord Chandos' players as clown; Jack Miller gave him the name of Grumball (*Nest of Ninnies*). About 1599 he replaced Kempe as Dogberry with the Chamberlain's company. In *The Italian Taylor* he calls himself "a beggar" (*i.e.*, an armin) "who hath been writ down an ass in his time, and pleads under *forma pauperis* in it still, notwithstanding his constableness and office," and in Tarleton's *Jests* "at the Globe on Bankside men may see him;" it is clear that he joined them before 1600, Aug. 4, probably on their removal to the Globe, 1599, Mar. He had been in Scotland (*Nest of Ninnies*) no doubt in 1601, when the Chamberlain's men went there. In 1603, May 19, his name stands eighth in the King's players patent. He acted in *The London Prodigal* as

Mat. Flowerdale: *cf.* v. i.—“*Luce.* So young an Armin? *Mat. Fl.* Armin: I know not what you mean by that, but I am almost a beggar.” He was then about thirty-six. In 1604, June 11, S. R., he prefixed a dedicatory letter to his relative Gilbert Dugdale’s *True Discourse on the Poisoning of Thomas Caldwell*. This dedication is addressed to Lady Mary Chandos, widow of Lord Chandos, who died 1602. In it Armin calls himself “Pink,” *i.e.*, Ragged Robin (*Lychnis Flos Cuculi*), another allusion to his poverty hitherto unnoticed. In 1605, May 4, A. Phillips left him in his will 20s. Also in 1605, for W. Ferbrand, he published *Fool upon Fool, or Six Sorts of Sots*:—

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. A Fat Fool. | 2. A Flat Fool. |
| 3. A Lean Fool. | 4. A Clean Fool. |
| 5. A Merry Fool. | 6. A Very Fool. |

Omnia sunt Sex Clonnico del mondo Snuffe. This work gave offence, as Armin tells us in *The Italian Tailor*, and was altered and reissued, 1608, by T. E. for J. Deane as *A Nest of Ninnies simply of themselves without compound, stultorum plena sunt omnia*, by Robert Armin. The dedication to the gentlemen of Oxford, Cambridge, and the Inns of Court mentions the Globe. He was at this time writing for the King’s Revels boys at the Whitefriars, having probably left the King’s men in consequence of this offensive book. Whether in 1605 (*i.e.*, between 1605, Mar. 25, and 1606, Mar. 26) he was with Kempe managing the (Queen’s) Revels children at Blackfriars depends on the authenticity of the document cited by Collier (*Actors*, p. 117) from “the city archives.” See under Kempe, and, for the fools, my *History of the Stage*, p. 375. “As Hamlet says, things called whips in store” in *A Nest of Ninnies* is an additional proof that Kyd wrote the early

Hamlet. "Things called whips" is a phrase of his often ridiculed. In 1609, Feb. 6, S. R., for T. Pavier, *Phantasma the Italian Tailor and his Boy* (dedicated to Lord and Lady Haddington, and translated from Straparola's *Notte Piacevoli*, viii. 5), was entered by Robert Armin, "servant to his majesty:" he had therefore rejoined the King's men on the breaking, I suppose, of the King's Revels children. He acted for them in Jonson's *Alchemist* in 1610, and in Davis of Hereford's *Scourge of Folly*, S. R., 1610, Oct. 8, is mentioned as still alive. A reference to S. R. would have saved a mass of dispute as to the date of the last-named work. He probably quitted the stage at the end of 1610, and died c. 1611. He did not act in *Catiline*, 1611. Dekker's *If it be not good the Devil's in't* was published 1612. In Sc. 3 it alludes to *A Nest of Ninnies*, and Grumbal the fiend (Armin's nickname, see *supra*) was altered to Lurchall, probably in consequence of the death of Armin, of whom this character was a caricature.

1. *The History of the Two Maids of Moreclacke* (Mortlake), "with the life and simple manner of John in the Hospital," was acted by the children of the King's Revels [at Whitefriars] in 1608, published 1609 as by R. Armin, "servant to the King's most excellent Majesty." Armin acted John "in the City if not in the (w)hole," and at Court. There is Welsh in this play.

2. *The Valiant Welshman, or The Chronicle History of the Life and Valiant Deeds of Caradoc the Great King of Cambria, now called Wales*, T. C., "by R. A., gent.," S. R., 1615, Feb. 21, was acted by the Prince of Wales' servants, *i.e.*, Prince Henry's. Charles was not created Prince of Wales till 1616, Nov. It was therefore doubtless *The Welshman*, acted at the Rose, 1595, Nov. 29, as an old play (originally written before 1593), but not *The Welsh-*

man's Prize, by Chettle and Drayton of 1598. "R. A." was certainly meant for Armin, but not having read the play, I give no opinion on its authorship.

ARTHUR, THOMAS (Latin), of St. John's, Cambridge.

1. *Microcosmus*, T. } Two MSS. in St John's Library,
2. *Mundus Plumbeus*, T. } 16th century.

ATKINSON, THOMAS. (Latin.)

1. *Homo*, T. MS. Harl. 6925. Dedicated to Laud, then President of St. John's, Cambridge, c. 1612.

B., R. (Plays.) Query Richard Bower.

1. 1567-8, for R. Jones. *Appius and Virginia*, C., 1575.

See my *History of the Stage*, p. 61.

Richard Bower was master of the Chapel children in 1559, when they played the offensive play [*Misogonus*], 31 Dec. He had held that office under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and was continued in it 30th April 1559 at a salary of £40. In 1563 he may have been a master at Westminster; but J. Taylor was *the* master. Bower may have lost his place for allowing *Misogonus* to be presented. See also 2. *Common Conditions* and 3. *Clyomon and Clamydes*.

BACON, Sir FRANCIS. (Masks.)

1. 1588, Feb. 28. Bacon devised some of the Dumb Shows in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, presented by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn to the Queen at Greenwich.

2. c. 1592-3 [query 1592, Nov. 17]. He wrote speeches for a *Device* presented to the Queen, printed by Mr. Spedding as "*A Conference of Pleasure*," and about the same time a *Sonnet* (in honour of the Earl of Essex), when he entertained the Queen at Twickenham Park.

3. 1595, Jan. 3. Bacon contributed to the *Gesta Graiorum* the speeches of the six councillors to the Prince

of Purpoole (Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 288–295, compare i.–xxi.; Ward ii. 147).

4. 1595, Nov. 17. He wrote the speeches for the *Device* [query the *Essex Antic Mask*] exhibited by the Earl of Essex to the Queen on the anniversary of her accession (Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 371).

5. 1613, Feb. 20. He was the “chief contriver” of Beaumont’s mask of *The Marriage of the Thames and the Rhine* at the Princess Elizabeth’s marriage (Nichols, *James*, ii. 591).

6. 1614, Jan. 6. He was the “chief encourager” of the *Mask of Flowers*, presented by the gentlemen of Gray’s Inn at the marriage of the Earl of Somerset (Nichols, *James*, ii. 735. It cost him £2000, ii. 705).

BALE, JOHN, Bishop of Ossory. (Play.)

1. The only play of Bale’s that comes within the purview of the present work is *John, King of England*, printed from the Duke of Devonshire’s MS. by Collier for the Camden Society, 1838. This was doubtless performed before the Queen at Ipswich, Aug. 1561, as then altered by Bale, who died soon after, not later than Nov. 1563, *ætatis* 67. I have given further details on this play in my *History of the Stage*, pp. 62–64. Bale’s earlier interludes date before 1538.

BARCLAY, Sir WILLIAM. (Play.)

1. 1638, Mar. 5, for John Okes. *The Lost Lady*, T. C., 1638. The copyright was transferred to J. Coleby 1638, Sept. 24, and from him to R. Roiston 1640, Sept. 5. I do not think this play was acted, but *Cornelia* (not published), by Sir William Bartley (Barclay), was, at Gibbon’s Tennis-Court, Vere Street, Clare Market, 1st June 1662. Barclay died 13th July 1677. Fortunately he has left nothing but this worthless play, and needs no further notice.

BARKSTED, WILLIAM. (Actor and play-cobbler.)

This man acted in Jonson's *Epicene*, 1610 [Jan.] as a member of the Queen's Revels children; in 1611, Aug. 29, he became a member of the Lady Elizabeth's men; in 1612-13 acted in *The Coxcomb*, and 1616, Mar. 20, signed the articles of agreement with Alleyn as one of Prince Charles' men. His only appearance as an author is as the vamped of 1. *The Insatiate Countess* in 1613, for which see under Marston. There is a curious difficulty in the title-page of Barksted's poem *Hiren, or The Fair Greek*, 1611, in which he is called "one of the servants of His Majesty's Revels." He was certainly at that time a servant of Her Majesty's Revels; but there may have been an earlier edition, for I cannot find the poem entered in S. R., although his *Mirrha the Mother of Adonis, or Lust's Prodigies*, duly appears there, 12th Nov. 1607: "Whereunto are added certain eglogs by L[ewis] M[achin]," who was one of the authors of *The Dumb Knight*, acted by the children of His Majesty's Revels," and entered 6th Oct. 1608. *Mirrha* and *The Dumb Knight* were transferred by John Bache to Robert Wilson, 19th Nov. 1610. I think Barksted must have belonged to His Majesty's Revels in 1608, and that *Hiren* was sent to the publisher at that time.

BARNES, BARNABY. (Plays.)

1. 1607, Oct. 16, for John Wright. *The Tragedy of Pope Alexander* 6, 1607.

Barnes was a younger son of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham. Born in Yorkshire, 1569; student of Brazenose, Oxford, 1586, but took no degree. He accompanied the Earl of Essex to France in 1591. In 1593, May 10, S. R., was licensed for John Wolf his *Parthenophil and Parthenope, Sonnets, Madrigals, Elegies, and Odes*. Dedicated to William Percy, his dearest friend, with verses to Henry Earl of Nor-

thumberland, Robert Earl of Essex, Henry Earl of Southampton, Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke, Lady Strange, and Lady Bridgett Manners. On 25th Aug. 1595, S. R., for John Windett, was entered *A Divine Century of Spiritual Sonnets*. On 3rd Feb. 1606, for George Bishop, *Four Books of Offices*, &c.

1. 1606, Feb. 2. *The Devil's Charter*, T., "containing the life and death of Pope Alexander 6," was played by the King's men before His Majesty. It was "corrected and augmented" (more's the pity) before publication.

2. *The Battle of Hexham* MS. was sold among Isaac Reed's books in 1807.

3. 1624, May 3. A new play called *The Madcap* was licensed by Herbert for Prince Charles' company, "written by Barnes."

He has verses prefixed to Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593; Florio's *World of Words*, 1598; Ford's *Fame's Memorial*, 1606.

As his career, excepting *The Madcap*, is unknown after 1607, that play may have been written by some other Barnes, possibly the actor "little Will Barnes," who was a boy member of Pembroke's company in 1597.

BARON, ROBERT. (Play).

Born 1630. Of Cambridge, 1647, and Gray's Inn.

1. *Gripius and Hegio*, or *The Passionate Lovers*, P., 1647. Founded on, or rather taken from, Webster's *Duchess of Malfy* and Waller's *Poems*.

2. *Deorum Dona*, mask, 1647 (in his romance, *The Cyprian Academy*), taken chiefly from Waller.

3. *Mirza*. T. n. d. Same story as *The Sophy*; same method as Jonson's *Catiline*. All these plays were written but not acted at Cambridge.

BARRY, LODOWICK. (Play.)

1. 1610, Nov. 9, for Robert Wilson. *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, C., 1611, 1636, 1639. This one production of this Irish gentleman had been acted "divers times heretofore" by the children of the King's Revels; probably in 1609, certainly after the 1606 November statute against drunkenness called "the last statute," iv. 1, and before the next statute on 9th February 1610. The allusions to *Romeo and Juliet* are very numerous. "The operation of the third pot," iii. 2 (cf. *R. J.*, iii. 1, 8, "The operation of the second cup"); "Is there no trust, no honesty in men?" iii. 4 (cf. *R. J.*, iii. 2, 85, "There is no trust, no faith, no honesty in men"); "He moveth not, he stirreth not, he waggeth not" (cf. *R. J.*, ii. 1, 15, "He heareth not, he stirreth not, he moveth not"). Now, a new edition of *Romeo and Juliet* appeared in 1609, probably after the reopening of the theatres on December 1, after nearly a year's closure on account of the plague: copies would hardly sell well while the playhouses were shut. Again, in iv. 1, "I dwindle as a new player does at a plague bill certified forty." The only "new" players within the limits of date were the Queen's men, whose patent on their opening their new house, the Red Bull, dates 15th April 1609; but they could not play till December on account of the plague. In i. 2 we find that baboons, calves with two tails, and motions (puppets) were very popular. This also points to a time when the regular theatres were closed. In iv. 4, "You know the law has tricks" looks very like an allusion to Day's *Law Tricks*, published 1608. All these indications point to Christmas 1609-10 as the date of performance of the play. But either before or after its first appearance it was (imperfectly) revised, the name of the Captain having been changed. He appears sometimes as Face, sometimes as Puff. The play is anti-Puritan: i. 4 contains a capital

paraphrase from Hooker beginning "Law is the world's great light," and is especially interesting to the Shakespeare student for its reminiscences of lines from *Henry 4*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, &c., as well as whole passages from Kyd's *Jeronymo*. If the allusion, v. 2, to the Ninnies "not in London held the smallest kindred" be (as I think it is) to the characters in Field's *Weathercock Woman* (acted 1610 after 4th January), the exact date of performance will lie between 4th January and 9th February.

BEAUMONT, FRANCIS. See FLETCHER, JOHN.

BELCHIER, DABRIDGECOURT. (Play.)

1. 1618, June 3, for Bernard Alsop. *See me and See me not*, C., 1618.

The eldest son of William Belchier of Gillesborough, Northamptonshire; entered at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, 2nd March 1597; B.A., Christchurch, Oxford, 6th February 1600; settled at Utrecht, and while there adapted his one play from the Dutch. Died in the Low Countries, 1621.

1. *Hans Beerpot, his invisible comedy of See me and See me not*: "acted in the Low Countries by an honest Company of Health-Drinkers," but probably not acted in London.

BONEN, WILLIAM. (Plays.)

Two entries of his name occur in Herbert's MS.

1. 1623, Sept. 12, *The Cra[fty] Merchant, or Come to my Country House*, C., for the Lady Elizabeth's players. The authorship of *The Crafty Merchant*, or *The Soldiered Citizen*, no doubt the same play, was assigned to Shakerley Marmion in Warburton's list; but Marmion took care not to leave his plays unpublished, and the names of authors in that list are frequently untrustworthy. The cancelled title therein which Halliwell would identify with this play, *The Merchant's Sacrifice*, is probably a simple error for *Minerva's Sacrifice*. The further notice printed by Collier

and copied by Halliwell (though Chalmers had given it rightly) about the players being none of the four companies belongs to Day's play, *Come see a Wonder*.

2. 1623, Nov. 19. *Two Kings in a Cottage*, T., for the Palsgrave's players.

BOURNE (or BIRD), WILLIAM. (Actor and playwright.)

1597, Aug. 10. This actor engaged himself to Henslow to play at the Rose with the Admiral's men, and in no other house public in London for three years (*Diary*, p. 258).

1. 1600, Feb. 9. "Lent unto me, W. Bird, to pay for a new book to Will. Boyle, called *Jugurth*, xxx.s., which if you dislike I'll repay it back" (*Diary*, p. 164). This play is never mentioned again by Henslow, but was licensed by Buck, and again as "*Jugurth, King of Numidia*, an old play," by Herbert, 1624, May 3 (he does not say for what company). I think Boyle, who is utterly unknown elsewhere, is merely a *nom de plume* for Bird himself.

2. 1601, Dec. 20-24. He aided S. Rowley in *Joshua*. See Rowley, S.

3. 1602, Nov. 22. He aided S. Rowley in additions to *Doctor Faustus*. See Marlow, C. Bird remained with the same company, afterwards patronised by Prince Henry, and then by the Palsgrave, till 31st Oct. 1618 at least, but died or left acting not later than the burning of the Fortune in 1621. He accompanied S. Rowley throughout his career.

BOYLE, WILLIAM. See Bourne.

BRANDON, SAMUEL. (Play.)

1. 1598, Oct. 5, for William Ponsonby. *The Virtuous Octavia*, T. C., 1598. This play, written in the Seneca manner, with choruses, was probably not acted. At the end are printed two epistles between Octavia and Antony.

BRAITHWAITE, RICHARD. (Political squib; in English and Latin.)

1. *Mercurius Britannicus*, or *The English Intelligencer*
A tragi-comedy at Paris. Acted with great applause 1641.

This quasi-dramatic discussion of ship-money, also called in its half-title *The Censure of the Judges*, or *The Court Cure*, needs no further notice here. For an excellent account of the author and his works, see Haslewood's edition of *Barnabee's Journal*.

BRETON, NICHOLAS. (Editor.)

1. *An old man's lesson and a young man's love*, 1605.
An interlude, edited by N. Breton.

BREWER, ANTONY. (Plays.)

1. *The Country Girl*, C., "often acted," by T[ony] B[rewer]. 1647. Scenes at London and Edmonton.

2. *The Lovesick King*, T. H., "with the life and death of Cartesmunda, the fair Nun of Winchester." 1655.

The Lovesick King was not, I think, acted at London, but at Newcastle. In ii. 1, "Is he not one of those players of interludes that dwells at Newcastle?" "If there be any Helicon in England, 'tis here at Newcastle." In iii. 1, v. 3, Newcastle sea-coals are preferred to Croydon charcoals. In ii. 1 Monday, the playwright, is alluded to: "What day is this? O, Monday; I shall love Monday's vein to poetize as long as I live." Cf. Jonson, *The Case is Altered*, 1598, i. 1, where Antonio Balladino (Monday) says, "An' they'll give me twenty pounds a play, I'll not raise my vein." Grim the Collier is one of the characters. Haughton's play of that name dates March 1600. Heywood's *How to learn of a woman to woo* (acted at Court 1605, and of course earlier in public) seems to be alluded to at the end of Act i. and in Act ii. All these indicate a date of c. 1604. The names of the characters, Grim, Osric, Hoffman, Randal, Canutus, &c., seem to be taken from Admiral's men's plays of 1597-1603.

BROME, ALEXANDER. (Play.)

1. *The Cunning Lovers*, C., 1654.

This play was successfully acted by Queen Henrietta's men at the Cockpit before 1639, Aug. 10, when it occurs in Beeston's list. This fact throws doubt on the date, 1620, assigned to Brome's birth in *Biog. Dram.* For the plot of the play see *The Seven Wise Masters of Rome* and the novel called *The Fortunate Deceived and Unfortunate Lovers*.

For Brome's Songs and other publications see Hazlitt's *Handbook*. He gave to the press two vols. of Richard Brome's plays, 1653-9; to which author, he expressly tells us in his verses prefixed to the second volume, he was not related.

BROME, RICHARD. (Plays.)

1632, Mar. 24, for Nicholas Vavasor. 6. *The Northern Lass*, C., 1632, 1635, 1663.

1640, Mar. 19, for { 16. *The Antipodes*, C., 1640.

Francis Constable. { 13. *Sparagus Garden*, C., 1640.

{ 8. *The Covent Garden*, C., 1658.

1640, Aug. 4, for { 11. *A New Academy or Exchange*,
Andrew Crooke. { C., 1658.

{ 3. *The Lovesick Court*, C., 1658.

{ 15. *The English Moor*, C., 1659.

12. *The Queen and Concubine*, C., was published with these four in 1659 as "Five new plays."

17. *The Jovial Crew*, C., for E. D. and N. E., 1651.

5. *The Damselle*, C.,

18. *The Court Beggar*, C.,

14. *The Mad Couple well
matched*, C.,

4. *The City Wit*, C.,

9. *Novella*, C.,

7. *The Queen's Exchange*, C., 1657, 1661, for Henry

Brome.

} were published 1653 for
T. Dring and R. Marriot
as "Five new plays."

1. *A Fault in Friendship* was licensed 1623, Oct. 2, "for the Prince's servants," who then acted at the Red Bull. "Written by Brome and young Jonson."

2. *The Lovesick Maid*, or *The Honor of Young Ladies*, was licensed Feb. 1629; acted by the King's men at Court 1629; entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, for H. Moseley.

3. *The Lovesick Court*, or *The ambitious Politic*, would seem, by its title, to be of a near date to the preceding; but there is no definite evidence on the question.

4. *The City Wit*, or *The Woman wears the Breeches*, was written (according to the Prologue spoken at a revival) in former times, when it bore the seal of Ben; some may have seen it ere the actor who took the Pedant's part wore a beard. In my judgment this is the earliest of Brome's plays that has come down to us. Dekker's influence is more clearly visible in it than in the other plays. Moreover, a ballad, "*A Woman would wear the Breeches*" [Briches], was entered S. R. 26th Nov. 1629, and ballads in Charles' time were as commonly taken from plays as plays in Elizabeth's were from ballads. I date this play c. 1629. Note that the speaker of the Prologue carries the title-board with the play-name.

5. *The Damoiselle*, or *The New Ordinary*, would seem, from allusions in the Prologue, Epilogue, and iii. 1., to have been produced before Davenant got his Laureate pension and Sack on 13th Dec. 1638, but after Jonson's death, Aug. 1637: note in iii. 1:—

"The gift, One has, to bounce up his own works."

Beeston and Davenant were then not friends. Compare *Lady Alimony* for a like quarrel in 1658.

6. *The Northern Lass*, or *A Nest of Fools*, was written after Nov. 1630. See iii. 2, which alludes to Dr. Leighton

"cropt and slit worse than a Parliamentary delinquent for blaspheming the Blood Royal." The "late long silence" in Brome's address, on its publication 24th Mar. 1632, is that caused by the closing of the theatres for the plague in 1631. See my *History of the Stage*, p. 335. In the commendatory verses to this play Jonson calls Brome his faithful servant and loving friend. He also mentions his prenticeship, *i.e.*, of seven years, 1623-29. The "Good Woman" in the verses of Brome's brother Stephen is Rowley's *New Wonder*, S. R., 24th Nov. 1631; and Heywood's *Girl worth Gold*, also alluded to, was published, S. R., 16th June 1631. Ford and Dekker (who calls Brome his "son") also contributed verses commendatory. This play was acted at the Globe and Blackfriars by the King's men.

7. *The Queen's Exchange*, called *The Royal Exchange* in 1661 edition, was acted at Blackfriars by the King's men. Henry Brome, who published it with this (no doubt correct) statement on the title-page, curiously enough forgot to alter his Address to the Readers where he says, "When 'twas written or where acted I know not." In ii. 2, "We have prayed for the King these seven years" fixes the date to 1631 or 1632.

8. *The Covent Garden Weeded*, or *The Middlesex Justice of Peace*, or *The Weeding of the Covent Garden*, was undoubtedly acted in 1632. Compare Nabbes' *Covent Garden* and the ballad, S. R., 25th June 1633, "*The new town, or the description of Common Garden*," for the date. In a Prologue for a revival which cannot be later than 1642, Brome speaks of this play as written "some ten years since." The "new church," *i. e.*, St. Paul's, was built 1641: this passage was therefore intercalated at the revival. The "two poetical Drury Lane writers, the Cobler and the Tapster," iii. 1, might seem to mean Shirley and

Heywood, the principal writers for the Cockpit in 1632, but the subsequent allusions do not admit of this identification. The "new French Balls" are mentioned iii. 1; compare Shirley's *Ball*, Nov. 1632, in iv. 2.

"Great Damboys surink and give a little ground"

is from Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*, ii. 1. This play was revived not long before Chapman's death, May 1634, and was acted at Court 7th April 1634. The "proclamation of restraint," ii. 1, was made 1632 (*Rushworth*, ii. 144), and Prynne's book was "writing," but not published, iv. 2; it was entered S. R. 16th Oct. 1630, and published Jan. 1633. The date of the play is therefore certainly 1632, and it was doubtless acted by the King's men, as we know Brome's other plays about this date were.

9. *The Novella* was acted at Blackfriars 1632, according to the title-page, *i.e.*, before 25th Mar. 1633, by his Majesty's servants. In i. 1, "Some Nightwalkers that throw Balls at their Mistresses" surely alludes to Shirley's *Ball*, licensed 18th Nov. 1632, and his *Nightwalker*, altered from Fletcher, licensed 11th May 1633. If we date *The Novella* in Mar. 1633, when Shirley was, of course, known to be preparing *The Nightwalker*, the allusion will be accounted for. The "noted Almaine" had late come to town, iv. 2.

10. *The Late Lancashire Witches*, or *The Witches of Lancashire*, an alteration by Brome of an old play by Heywood, was acted at the Globe 1634, and was the last play in which we can trace Brome as writing for the King's men. See further on this play under Heywood.

11. *The New Academy*, or *The New Exchange*. I fail to ascertain any definite note of time in this play, or indication of the company who produced it, but am inclined to set it down as an early play for the King's men, as it has neither

Prologue nor Epilogue. I guess it to be c. 1628, in which case the "false prophet" of iv. 1 would be "Chalcedon Smith," as to whom see Fuller's *Church History*, p. 132.

12. *The Queen and Concubine*, with its plot on a falsely accused Queen, looks like a covert refutation of Prynne; while the lines v. 7—

"No longer brothers of the Bench we'll be,
But of the Revels for his Majesty,"

looks as if the play were performed by the Company of His Majesty's Revels. Probably it was Brome's first play for that company at Salisbury Court. It was not entered S. R. in 1640, as all the other 1659 "Five new plays" were, and was probably obtained from a different source by Croke the publisher. The difference in type, use of italic, &c., confirms this.

13. *The Sparagus Garden, or Tom Hoyden of Taunton Dean*, was acted in 1635 by the King's Revels men at Salisbury Court. It contains allusions more or less definite to *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, *The New Ordinary*, *The Alchemist*, *The Lovesick Maid*, *The New Inn*, and especially to *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ii. 1.

14. *The Mad Couple well matched* (or *met*) was certainly acted by the Queen's men at the Cockpit under Beeston, for it is found in the 1639 list of such plays retained by Beeston. The date is almost certainly 1636. In iii. 1 Glapthorne's *Lady's Privilege* is glanced at.

15. *The English Moor*, or *The Mock Marriage*, was acted by the Queen's servants. It appears from the Prologue that they had been restrained, and had to make humble submission for offending the State. They had acted during the prohibited time in the 1636-7 plague; they may also have meddled with State matters; but if the latter, it is strange that nothing is heard of it elsewhere. In any case

the play was acted, I think, at Salisbury Court, on the re-opening after their inhibition. They were inhibited 12th May 1637. The other theatres reopened 2nd Oct., but this company, probably by way of punishment, somewhat later.

16. *The Antipodes* was acted 1638 by the Queen's men at Salisbury Court, but was intended for them at the Cockpit [in 1636]. See the author's note at the end of the play. He had left the Revels company on bad terms, or he would not have used the phrase in ii. 5, "The children of the Devil's Black Revels." This play afterwards passed to Beeston's boys at Drury Lane.

17. *The Jovial Crew*, or *The Merry Beggars*, was acted at the Cockpit by their Majesties' servants in 1641. Although the Queen's men had acted *The Antipodes*, Brome carefully informs us that it had been meant for Beeston. In truth, he never wrote for the newly constituted Queen's company at Salisbury Court, though they acted two of his plays which had been written for them before their change of theatre. Brome stuck by the Beestons to the last. From the Dedication we learn that in 1652 Brome was old and poor. In fact, he died before the "Five new plays" were published in 1653. Alex. Brome also says in his verses that Jonson envied him, which cannot be true (see *The Northern Lass*). Of greater interest is the fact noted in the Dedication that this play "had the luck to tumble last in the epidemical ruin of the scene," being acted right up to the closure of the theatres by the Parliament. From allusions in iv. 2 it appears that *The Heir* and *The Old Couple* had been recently revived at the Cockpit (see May), and in i. 1 *The Court Beggars* is unmistakably denoted.

18. *The Court Beggars* I treat last, although it preceded *The Merry Beggars*, because it is necessary for the reader to have all Brome's career in full view to judge fairly of the

bold innovation I am going to lay before him. On the title-page we read "Acted at the Cockpit," which is no doubt true, but "by his Majesty's servants, anno 1632," is not true, and, I think, copied by mistake from the title of the preceding play, *The Norella*. For the Prologue speaks of Brome as full of age and care, which he was not in 1632; it alludes to the gaudy scenes (of Killigrew's *Pulchritudo* and *Eudora*, Cartwright's *Royal Slave*, Heywood's *Love's Mistress*, &c., which all date 1634 or later): and the Epilogue alludes to the purchasing of plays from University scholars (Cartwright, Habington, &c.); mentions *Tom Hoyden*, 1635, *The Antipodes*, 1638; and speaks of the governor of this stage (William Beeston), who has trained up these youths (Beeston's boys) both in his father's days (Christopher Beeston's) and since. The play is certainly one acted by their Majesties' servants at the Cockpit, anno 1640. Massinger's *King and Subject*, licensed 5th June 1638, is alluded to in iii. 2, and "women actors now grow in request," v. 2. Compare Cartwright's *Lady Errant*. Another possible explanation is, that we should read in the title acted at the Cockpit [1640, and] by his Majesty's servants, 1632. Some other plays by Brome are lost, viz.:—

19. *Wit in a Madness*. S. R., for F. Constable, 19th March 1640 (entered with others).

20. *Christianetta*. } S. R., for A. Croke, 4th Aug.

21. *The Jewish Gentleman*. } 1640 (entered with others).

22. *The Apprentice's Prize*.

23. *The life and death of Sir Martin Skink*, "with the Wars of the Low Countries." These last two were entered S. R., 8th April 1654. They were written by Brome and Heywood; i.e., they were probably altered, from Heywood's old plays, by Brome, like *The Lancashire Witches*, for the King's men, c. 1634, or earlier.

BROOKES, Dr. SAMUEL. (Latin and University.)

1. 1613, Mar. 3. *Sciros*, a pastoral, was acted at Cambridge before Prince Charles and the Elector Palatine by Trinity men. MSS. copies are extant in the University and Emanuel Libraries.

2. 1615, Mar. 10. *Melanthe, fabula pastoralis*, was presented to the King by the same College, and printed at Cambridge the same year.

BROWNE, WILLIAM. (Mask.)

The Inner Temple Mask [Circe and Ulysses] was presented "to please ourselves in private" by the Inner Temple gentlemen, 1617-23, and printed from a MS. in Emanuel College Library in 1772. I cannot identify the occasion of performance. The mask called *Inner Temple Musk* in the Index to Nichols' *James*, presented to the Duke of Buckingham, 1617, Jan. 17, would suit the date very well; but in the text, iii. 243, this is said to have been performed by the gentlemen of the *Middle Temple*.

BURNELL, HENRY. (Dublin play.)

1. *Landgartha*, T. C., "as it was presented in the New Theatre in Dublin" [in 1639]. *Landgartha* was wife of Regner, the Amazon Queen of Denmark and Norway. Printed 1641.

BURROUGHES, ——. (Play.)

1. 1646, Sept. 4. *The Fatal Friendship*.

BURTON, WILLIAM. (Latin.)

1. *Amores Perynthi et Tyantes*, C. Not acted nor printed. Written 1596.

C., J. (Play.)

1. 1620, May 22, for L. Chapman. *The Two Merry Milkmaids*, C., 1620, 1661.

1. A pleasant comedy, called *The Two Merry Milkmaids*, or *The best Words wear the Garland*, "as it was acted before the

King with general approbation by the Company of the Revels, by J. C.," printed by B. Alsop for L. Chapman. Partly founded on the *Decameron*, x. 5. The date of presentation must be after 1619, Mar. 2, when Queen Anne died, and was most likely during the 1619-20 Christmas. J. C. was probably John Cumber, one of the Revels actors.

C., R. (Mask.)

Death of Dido, by R. C. Dated by Chetwood 1621. Jacob first gave the title to it.

CALFHILL, JAMES. (Latin play.)

Admitted at Oxford 1545; student of Christ Church 1548; A.M. 1552; second canon 1560; D.D. before 1566; dean of Bocking; archdeacon of Colchester; nominated bishop of Worcester 1570, but died before consecration. Wrote other works.

1. *Progne*, acted before the Queen at Christ Church, 5th Sept. 1566. Nichols, i. 215.

CAMPION, EDMOND. (Latin.)

Of St. John's Oxford; A.M. 1564. Turned Papist.

1. *Nectar et Ambrosia*, T.

CAMPION, Dr. THOMAS. (Masks.)

1594, Dec. 2. Thomæ Campiani *Poemata*, 1595, 1619. *Observations in the art of English Poesy*, 1602. This was answered by S. Daniel in his *Defense of Rhyme*, 1603.

Verses prefixed to B. Barnes' *Four books of Offices*, 1606.

1. 1607, Jan. 26, for John Brown. The Description of a Mask presented before the King's Majesty at Whitehall on Twelfth Night last in honor of the Lord Hayes and his bride, Daughter and Heir to the Honorable Lord Denny, their marriage having been the same Day at Court solemnized. To this occasion other small Poems [and the music of the Songs] are adjoined. 1607.

[1610]. 1, 2. *Books of Airs*.

[1612]. 3, 4. *Books of Airs*.

2. Relation of the late Royal *Entertainment given by the Lord Knowles at Cawsome [Caversham] House*, near Reading, to our most gracious Queen, Queen Anne, in her progress towards the Bath in [27th, 28th] April 1613.

Whereunto is annexed the Description, Speeches, and Songs of

3. *The Lords' Mask* on the Marriage night of the Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth. For John Bridge, 1613.

A new Way of making four parts in Counterpoint, &c. 1613.

4. The Description of a *Mask* presented at the Banqueting Room at Whitehall on Saint Stephen's night last [26th Dec. 1613] *At the Marriage of* the Right Honorable the Earl of Somerset *And* the right noble the Lady Frances Howard (with the airs). By E. A., for Laurence Lisle, 1614. This is *The Squires' mask* which Halliwell calls *The Squire's mask*, and dates 1615. Campion also prefixed verses to B. Barnes' *Four books of Offices*, 1606. He was Doctor of Physic of Cambridge, and probably died in London Jan. 1623. His chief concern with the drama lies in his rivalry with Jonson in mask-writing. As early as 1594 he wrote the hymn in praise of Neptune in the *Gesta Graiorum* (Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 310; *James*, ii. 104).

CAREW [CAREY], Lady ELIZABETH. (Play.)

1. 1612, Dec. 17, for Richard Hawkins. *Mariamne, the Fair Queen of Jewry*, T., 1613. This play, printed as "*Mariam*," by Lady E. C., was probably never acted. It is written in sextains with Seneca choruses, and was dedicated (in some copies) to "Diana's Earthly Deputess, and my worthy sister, Mistress Elizabeth Carey." This has been greatly misunderstood. It means to Queen Elizabeth's deputy (but not the "second Delia;" see Daniel), and my

sister by marriage, not in blood. It was Sir George Carey's daughter Elizabeth that was the second Delia; but there were two other Elizabeth Careys, sisters by connexion; for of Henry Carey's sons, one, George, married Elisabeth Spenser; and another, Edmund, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Latimer. As George was Elizabeth's Deputy as Governor of the Isle of Wight, his wife might well be called her Deputess; the authoress would then be Edmond Carey's wife, her sister-in-law. The conjecture of Oldys that Sir Henry Carey's wife wrote this play is absurd. Her name was not Elisabeth, but Anne. That Carey, not Carew, is the right name is proved by the Dedication of *England's Helicon*, 2nd edition, 1614.

CAREW, THOMAS. (Mask.)

1. 1634, Feb. 18. *Cælum Britannicum*. A Mask at Whitehall in the Banqueting House on Shrove Tuesday Night. For Thomas Walkley, 1634.

This Mask was performed (with 8 anti-masks) by:—

1. THE KING'S MAJESTY.

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|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 2. The Duke of Lennox. | 9. Lord Fielding. |
| 3. The Duke of Devonshire. | 10. Lord Digby. |
| 4. The Earl of Holland. | 11. Lord Dungarvin. |
| 5. The Earl of Newport. | 12. Lord Dunluce. |
| 6. The Earl of Elgin. | 13. Lord Wharton. |
| 7. Viscount Grandison. | 14. Lord Paget. |
| 8. Lord Ritchie. | 15. Lord Saltire. |

Young Lords and Noblemen's Sons.

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|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 16. Lord Walden. | 21. Mr. Thomas Howard. |
| 17. Lord Cranborn. | 22. Mr. Thomas Egerton. |
| 18. Lord Brackley. | 23. Mr. Charles Cavendish. |
| 19. Lord Chandos. | 24. Mr. Robert Howard. |
| 20. Mr. William Herbert. | 25. Mr. Henry Spencer. |

7. *The Fool would be a Favorite*, or *The Discreet Lover*, was, like the rest of Carlell's worthless plays, acted with great applause.

8. *Osmond the Great Turk*, or *The Noble Servant*, is founded on the taking of Constantinople, in 1453, by Mahomet II., but the scene and names are altered.

9. *Heraclius, Emperor of the East*, T., is merely an adaptation from Corneille, published in 1664.

The value of Carlell's works is simply negative; they show what rubbish was palatable to Charles and Henrietta.

CARTWRIGHT, GEORGE. (Play.)

1. *The Heroic Lover*, or *The Infanta of Spain*, T., 1661, "penned many years ago;" probably not acted. Scene, Poland.

CARTWRIGHT, WILLIAM. (Plays at University and Court.)

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|--|-------------------------|
| 3. <i>The Royal Slave</i> , T. C., Oxford, | } For Humphrey Moseley, |
| 1639, 1640. | |
| 2. <i>The Lady Errant</i> , T. C. | |
| 4. <i>The Siege, or Love's Convert</i> , | |
| T. C. | |
| 1. <i>The Ordinary</i> , C. | |

Son of William Cartwright, innkeeper, Cirencester; christened at Northway, Gloucestershire, 26th Sept. 1611; educated at the Free School, Cirencester, afterwards at Westminster; student of Christ Church, Oxford, 1628; B.A., M.A., 1635; took Holy Orders 1638; succentor at Salisbury 1642, Oct.; Junior Proctor 12th April 1642. Died 29th Nov. 1642. Jonson said of him, "my son Cartwright writes all like a man." His dramatic career seems to have ended in 1638.

1. *The Ordinary* has a title-page of different form from the other plays "by W. Cartwright, M.A.," not "late student of Christ Church, and proctor, &c." It was written before

1635, Mar. 27, in "the tenth of our King," iii. 1, and was probably produced on Cartwright's taking his M.A. degree.

2. *The Lady Errant* appears, from the Prologue and Epilogue, to have been performed before Royal personages, possibly the Elector Palatine and Prince Rupert, 1635-36, but not at Court; the female characters by women. An incomplete quotation in Ward's *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Lit.*, ii. 415, led me to suppose that this was the play alluded to in Prynne's *Histrionomastix*, but a reference to the original shows that Prynne spoke of *French* actresses only. One scene is from Aristophanes.

3. *The Royal Slave* was presented before the King and Queen at Oxford, 30th Aug. 1636, by the students of Christ Church, and afterwards, 12th Jan. 1637, at Hampton Court, by the King's players. The students acted best. The players probably did not bestow much pains on this stilted production. It had 8 "appearances, or stage scenes."

4. *The Siege, or Love's Convert*, was rescued from the flames, and rewritten with the second title at the King's command [c. 1637]. A play of Davenant's, 1629, had already been called *The Siege*. This one was not worth rescuing. It is founded on Plutarch's *Cymon* and Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, ix. 1. Cartwright's poems are useful occasionally by supplying a date or two, but require no notice here.

CAVENDISH, WILLIAM, Duke of Newcastle. (Plays.)

1. *The Country Captain*, and 2. *The Variety*: two comedies. Written by a person of Honor. 1649. London and The Hague.

Both these plays were acted by the King's men at Blackfriars, c. 1639-40.

1. A manuscript of *The Country Captain* in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 7650, was renamed by Halliwell *Captain Underwit*, and printed under that title by Mr. A. H.

Bullen, with the accompanying statement, that "it is absolutely certain . . . that *Captain Underwit* is a comedy of Shirley's." It is unfortunate that this gentleman will rush in with rash assertions where sound critics fear to tread. His special delight is to set up ninepin hypotheses, and then bowl them down again. But no doubt it pays him and his publisher. In his notes to the play he says that Parsons' *Resolutions* (the well-known book by Parsons, the Jesuit) is a fictitious title, and that the date of Tarleton's death is unknown; he also quotes Webster's *Vittoria Corromborea* [*sic*]. Immediately after, he, writing anonymously in the columns of the *Athenæum*, accused me of inaccuracies—me, who had saved him from publishing so many of his own. The date of *The Country Captain* is proved by an allusion in it to the Treaty of Berwick, June 1639.

2. *The Variety* is alluded to in Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded*, but the extant copy of that play is that of its revival, c. 1641.

The other works of Cavendish lie outside the limits of this book; nor does his career concern the dramatic student.

CAYWORTH, JOHN. (Private mask.)

1. *Enchiridion Christiados*. A twelve days' task, or twelve verdicts and visions upon Christ, his Incarnation, Nativity, Circumcision, &c., presented for a Christmas mask to William Paston, Esq., High Sheriff of Norfolk, and the Lady Katharine, his wife, 1636. MS. Addit. 10,311.

CECIL, ———. (Latin.)

1. *Æmilia*, C. Acted at St. John's, Cambridge, 7th Mar. 1615, before the King. The chief part a counterfeit Sir Edward Ratcliff, Doc. Phys. Pretty shows, broad speech, but dry. Nichols' *James*, iii. 49.

CHAMBERLAINE, ROBERT. (Play.)

1. 1640, April 2, for Andrew Crooke. *The Swaggering*

Damsel, 1640. Chamberlaine was a member of Exeter College, Oxford. For his various publications, 1636-61, see Hazlitt, *Handbook*.

1. *The Swaggering Damsel* has commendatory verses by Rawlins, whose *Rebellion* (which was entered S. R. for Daniel Frere, 20th Nov. 1639) had similar verses prefixed by Chamberlaine, and was acted by the Revels company. But the entry S. R. included T. Killigrew's *Prisoners*, which was acted at the Phoenix [by Queen Henrietta's men], where also many other plays published by A. Croke were acted. (See Shirley and Brome.) I incline, therefore, to the opinion that this play was acted by the Queen's men. But it is hardly worth discussing.

CHAPMAN, GEORGE. (Plays and Mask.)

2. 1598, Aug. 15, for William Jones. *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, C., "upon condition that it belong to no other man." 1598.

3. *An humourous day's mirth*, C., 1599, by Valentine Syms. Probably licensed 1599, Mar. See my *History of the Stage*, p. 107.

6. *All Fools*, C., 1605, for Thomas Thorpe.

1605, Sept. 4, for William Aspley. *Eastward Ho*, C., 1605 (three editions).

9. *The Gentleman Usher*, C., 1606, by V. S[yms], for Thomas Thorpe.

11. *Monsieur d'Olive*, C., 1606, by T. C[reede], for William Holmes.

12. 1607, June 3, for William Aspley. *Bussy d'Ambois*, T., 1607, 1608, 1616, 1641; "corrected and amended" 1657.

16, 17. 1608, June 5, for Thomas Thorpe. *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron*, T., 1608, 1625.

8. *May Day*, C., 1611, for John Browne.

14. } 1612, April 17, for { *The Widow's Tears*, C., 1612.
15. } John Browne. { *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*,
T., 1613.

19. 1613, Jan. [Feb.] 27, for George Norton. *The mask of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn* (with Beaumont's *Mask*), 1613.

18. 1631, May 18, for Thomas Harper. *Cæsar and Pompey*, T., 1631 (and again as *The Wars of C. and P.*, 1631), 1653.

See also *Sir Giles Goosecap*, *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany*, *Revenge for Honour*, *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (*Usurping Tyrant*), *Two Wise Men and all the Rest Fools*, *Eastward Ho*; and, under Shirley, *The Ball*, and *Chabot, Admiral of France*.

NON-DRAMATIC WORKS.

The Shadow of Night, 1594, by R. F., for William Ponsonby. Dedicated to Matthew Roydon.

Ovid's Banquet of Sense, 1595, by J. R., for Richard Smith. Dedicated to Matthew Roydon. Copyright transferred S. R. 1598, Nov. 6; so that it must have been licensed originally.

Lines prefixed to W. Jones' *Nennio*, 1595.

De Guiana, prefixed to L. Keymis' *A Second Voyage to Guiana*, 1596.

1598, Mar 2. E. Blunt assigned to Paul Linley his copyright in *Hero and Leander*, but Blunt had already printed the Marlow part (Sestiads, i. ii., as entered S. R. for J. Wolf, 1593, Sept. 28), with dedication to Sir T. Walsingham. Chapman's continuation in Linley's edition is dedicated to Lady Walsingham. 1598 (two editions, as afore-

said), 1600, 1606, 1609 (for E. Blunt, who had repurchased, or still possessed, the right of printing Marlow's part, and W. Barret), 1613, 1629, 1637. Petore's continuation (called Henry Polone's, S. R.) was entered 1598, April 14, for A. Harris, "on condition that he get further lawful authority," and printed 1598. The knowledge that this was coming out accelerated, I think, the issue of Chapman's version, which was probably written c. 1594-5.

1598, April 10, for Toby Cooke. *Homer's Iliad*, i.-vii., was entered and "*expunctum per mandatum*," but was published, as well as *Achilles' Shield*, as "printed by John Windet 1598." Both were dedicated to the Earl of Essex. It appears from *Euthymie Raptus* that he had "Englished" Homer at Hitchin (before he settled in London in 1593). Hence all Chapman's poems yet mentioned were written before his time of play-making, 1596-1608.

In *England's Parnassus*, 1600, there are many extracts from Chapman's poems and plays previously published.

Chester's *Love's Martyr*, 1601, contains verses by Chapman, Jonson, Marston, and Shakespeare.

1604, Nov. 2. Verses by Chapman were prefixed to Jonson's *Sejanus*.

Verses were also prefixed to Jonson's *Volpone* 1607, and to Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* [1609].

1609, May 4, for R. Bonian and H. Whalley. *The Tears of Peace*, with interlocution (*Euthymie Raptus*), 1609. Dedicated to Prince Henry, his patron, who had seen his *Homer*, and ordered him to go on with it.

The Iliad, i.-xii., was accordingly printed c. 1609-10.

1611, April 8, for N. Butter. *The Iliad*, i.-xxiv., n.d. [1611], with 22 sonnets to lords and ladies "of Prince Henry's train;" the last of these to Sir Edward Phillips, his first mention in Chapman's dedications.

1611, Nov. 23. *Verses* "to his loved son," N. Field, on *A Woman's a Weathercock*.

1612, Jan. 13, for H. Selman. *Petrarch's Seven Penitential Psalms*, &c. The "greater labours" mentioned in the dedication to Sir E. Phillips, as commanded by Prince Henry, are of course the translations of the rest of Homer's works.

1612, Dec. 11, for J. Budge. *An Epicede, or Funeral Song on the Death* [Nov. 6] *of Henry, Prince of Wales* [buried Dec. 7]. Dedicated to Henry Jones.

Eugenia, or True Nobility's Tears, 1614. On the death of William, Lord Russel [1613, Aug.; buried Sept. 16. See S. R., Nov. 6]. Dedicated to Francis, Lord Russel.

1614, Mar. 16, for Laurence Lyle. *Perseus and Andromeda*, 1614 (*Andromeda Liberated, or The Nuptials of P. and A.*). Dedicated to Robert, Earl of Somerset, and his wife, Lady Frances, who were married 1613, Dec. 26.

A justification of the "maliciously misinterpreted" *Andromeda Liberata* was issued separately by L. L'Isle 1614.

1614, Nov. 2, for N. Butter. *Homer's Odysseys*, n.d. Dedicated to the Earl of Somerset.

The complete works of Homer (i.e., *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), n.d., for N. Butter.

1616, July 27, for W. Jaggard. *Musæus of Hero and Leander*. A comparatively close translation, not enlarged like the former one. Dedicated to Inigo Jones.

1618, May 14, for Miles Partrich. *Hesiod's Georgics*. Dedicated to Sir Francis Bacon.

Verses beneath Prince Henry's portrait in *Holland's Heroologia*, 1620.

1622, Nov. 8, for T. Walkley. *Pro Vere Autumnæ Lacrymæ*. In memory of Sir Horatio Vere, "besieged and distressed in Mainhem." Dedicated to the Earl of Somerset.

The Crown of all Homer's Works, Batrachomyomachia, or The Battle of Frogs and Mice, His Hymns and Epigrams, by John Bill, his Majesty's Printer, n.d. [c. 1622]. Dedicated to the Earl of Somerset. Heber's copy of this work had an inscription to Lord Russel [Francis, not William, as W. C. Hazlitt supposes; cf. *Eugenia*]. In the postscript Chapman says—

“The work that I was born to do is done.”

This is his last work of importance. He attained his grand climacteric in 1621–2.

1627, Nov. 9. Lines “To the Volume” were prefixed to [Hart's] *Hippolito and Isabella*, S. R., for N. Field, Chapman's “loved son.” Printed “by T. Harper and N. Field 1628.” These men were then partners.

A Justification of a strange action of Nero's, &c., and *A just reproof of a Roman smell-feast, Juvenal, Satire V.*, 1629, by T. Harper (alone). Dedicated to Richard Hubert, Esq.

The Invective against Jonson, from a commonplace-book in the Ashmole MSS. (Bodleian), was certainly written after *A Tale of a Tub*, 1633, May 7, the “poor thing writ new;” it is full of allusions to Jonson's later work. The scribe adds, “More than this never came to my hands, but was lost in his [Chapman's last] sickness.” It is sad that the last verses of Chapman should indicate a quarrel with so old a friend.

A few other verses of Chapman's I am unable to date, and therefore do not notice them, the main object of this list being to show that Chapman was fully employed in non-dramatic work except from 1596 to 1608.

George Chapman, of Hitchin, Hertfordshire (see *Euthymia Raptus*), was born 1558–9, as his portrait in his *Homer*,

dated 1616, is *ætatis* 57. He entered at Trinity, Oxford, 1574, and resided two years, but took no degree. Marlow (buried 1593, June 1) must have known poems of his: in *Hero and Leander* Chapman mentions Marlow's late desires that he should "surrender to light his soul's dark offspring," i.e., publish *The Shadow of Night*. Chapman had come to London then by 1593, probably on purpose to publish. It will be seen from the above list of his works that he had written a good deal. From 1596 to 1608 he wrote plays, in 1609 was patronised by Prince Henry, and after his death, in 1612, by the Earl of Somerset, Francis Lord Russel, and others. His life is best read in his dedications. He was buried at St. Giles in the Fields, 1634, May 12.

PLAYS.

1. *The Disguises*, 1595, Oct. 2. See below, *May Day*.
2. *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, 1596, Feb. 12, with "his variable humours in disguised shapes." Printed from a stage copy and published by the company, not by Chapman. No Dedication. Note Chapman's fondness for "disguises" in his early plays "acted in London." No theatre mentioned. Bankside is reckoned as London.
3. *The Comedy of Humours*, 1597, May 11. Certainly the same play as *A Humorous Day's Mirth*, not Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*. "Verone's son's hose" and "La Besha's coat with gold buttons" are apparel noted in Henslow's inventory, 1598, Mar. This play was also performed 1597, Oct. 11, after the junction of Pembroke's men with the Admiral's. In Sc. 8 the same error, *Usus promptus facit*, occurs as in *Every Woman in her Humor*, iii. 1. No dedication. Not published by Chapman, but by the company.

4. 1598, May 16, 23, June 10. Chapman had payments, £3, 10s., in earnest of "a book," apparently the same as that of June 15, *The Will of a Woman*, £1; but this title was so like that of *A Woman will have her Will*, by Haughton, 1598, Feb.—May, that I feel sure that the title was altered to *The Fountain of New Fashions*, for which Chapman received £4, 1598, Sept. 31 (*sic*), Oct. 12. This last payment was "in full." The total would then be £8, 10s., the same sum as he had for *All Fools*. Chapman, it would seem, got better terms than Dekker, Drayton, &c. I think *M. d'Olive* was an altered form of this 1598 play. See further on.

5. 1598, Oct. 23. Chapman received £3 "on his play-book" (probably some MS. pledged to pawnbroker Henslow), and "two acts of a tragedy on Benjamin [Jonson]'s plot;" and 1599, Jan. 4, on "three acts of a tragedy," £3; and on Jan. 8, "in full payment for his tragedy," £3. This tragedy (for which, out of the above sums, £8, 10s. was probably paid) was possibly the play which Jonson had engaged to write by Christmas 1597, the plot of which he had shown to the company 1597, Dec. 3. It may have been *The Fall of Mortimer*, the plot and commencement of which alone are extant. But I must not omit the fact that a "Pero's suit" (Pero is a character in *Bussy d'Ambois*) occurs in the 1598 Mar. inventory; this, however, is too early to apply to the present tragedy. A play called *Berowne* or *Burone* is mentioned 1602, Sept.—Oct., but this is more likely to have been *Bur[b]on*, or *The Trial of Chivalry*, than Chapman's *Byron*. This entry, with its "scaffold," is too late for the present tragedy. Byron was executed in 1602. Again, *Sejanus* cannot be the play, for that was "first acted" at the Globe by the King's men.

1598, Oct. 24. Chapman gives I.O.U. to Henslow for

£10, 10s., probably a private transaction. It is not mentioned in the company's accounts, *Diary*, p. 191.

6. 1599, Jan. 22, Feb. 13, June 2, 21, July 2 (in full). Chapman gets £8 10s. for a play called *The World runs on Wheels*, but now (July 2) *All Fools but the Fool*. Of course, the same as *All Fools*, for which see further on. Note the Chapman habit of changing the title, and the absolute certainty in this instance of his refashioning an Admiral's play for the boys at Blackfriars.

7. 1599, July 17. Chapman receives £2 in earnest of a "*Pastoral Tragedy*," probably never finished, and leaves the Admiral's men.

8. *May Day*, C., was "acted at the Blackfriars," by the children of the Chapel, I suppose, c. 1601. In iv. 1—

"Fill red cheekt Bacchus, let the Bourdeaux grape
Skip light lavoltas in their swelling veins!"

is printed in quotation marks, and is taken in ridicule from Marston, 2 *Antonio and Mellida*, v. 4 (acted in 1600)—

"Fill red cheekt Bacchus, let . . . the plump lipt god
Skip light lavoltas in your full sapt veins!"

This ridicule of Marston must, I think, be anterior to Chester's *Love's Martyr*, 1601, to which Chapman and he both contributed. There are other quotations in the play. "Temperance was a delicate wench," *Tempest*, ii. 1, unexplained by Shakespeare's editors, alludes to the bawd in this play; in iv. 4, Quintilians describes her ironically as "a wench, a delicate young morsel." The innumerable mentions of "disguises" in this play makes me think that it was founded on the play of that name acted at the Rose 1595, Oct. 2. There are three disguised characters in *May Day*. It was not published by Chapman. If the passage in *Grim* (begun 1600, May 6), where the collier says, ii. 2,

he has called himself Joan's handmaid since last May-day, alludes to this play, we should have to date it 1600, May 1, or suppose that Haughton finished his later than 1600. A comedy or moral with Dame Temperance in it is refused for the Court in Marston's *What you will*, v. 1, 1601. This is, I think, this *May Day*.

9. *The Gentleman Usher*, to which no company or theatre is assigned in the title, was acted, I think, in the Christmas season 1601-2 by the Chapel boys at Blackfriars; certainly after *Sir Giles Goosecap* (with which it should be carefully compared, with a view to determine its authorship), cf. ii. 1; as certainly before Marston's *Malcontent*. "A gentleman usher called me coxcomb t'other day, and to my face too." Bassiolo (who is a rough anagram of Bilioso, performed by the same actor) is twice called coxcomb to his face in *The Gentleman Usher*. This limits the date to c. 1601 Nov.—1602 Feb.

10. *All Fools*, published in 1605, was most likely written in 1603, as it was acted at Blackfriars, and "lately" (i.e., on Shrove Tuesday 1604 or Jan. 1605) "before his Majesty." It was issued by Chapman himself, with a Dedication (afterwards cancelled) to Sir T. Walsingham. The Prologue seems to contain an allusion to the "asses' ears" in *Satiromastix*. In ii. 1 there is a palpable allusion to a speech of Ophelia's, *Hamlet*, iv. 5, as acted in 1603. The "columbine" does not occur among her flowers in the early version of *Hamlet*; it is found in the 1604 Quarto. This play is, of course, a remodelled form of *The World runs on Wheels* of July 1599. An indication of the original date still remains in iv. 1, "given the 17th Nov. fifteen hundred and so forth." The publication was no doubt due to a favourable reception of the play at Court. This was the first of Chapman's plays published by himself. He seems to have feared

that the Admiral's men would publish the earlier and inferior version. See the Dedication, the genuineness of which has been suspected, the copy from which Collier printed it not being forthcoming. But if, as I suppose, it was suppressed, at Walsingham's request, immediately, this is not remarkable. Perhaps only the copy sent to him survived. The Dedication of *Byron* addresses him as if that of *All Fools* had never been penned.

11. *Monsieur D'Olive*, published 1606, as acted by Her Majesty's children at the Blackfriars, and therefore not earlier than 1604, Jan. 30, appears to belong to 1604. It alludes to King James' Knights in i. 2. I think this play is a remodelled form of *The Will of a Woman* of June 1598, (cf. "Strange will in women," ii. 1,) so called from the Marcellina plot, but named afterwards *The Fountain of New Fashions*, Oct. 1598; cf. D'Olive's speech about teaching fashions to younger sons, iii. 1 end. Not published by Chapman.

12. *Bussy d'Ambois* was published in 1607. The allusions in it to the Knights of James I, the "innovation" of 1603-4, and to Elizabeth as an "old queen," forbid a date earlier than 1603; and the statement in i. 2, "'tis Leap Year," which must apply to the date of production, as Bussy's introduction at Court was in 1569, not a Leap Year, fixes the time of representation to 1604. Nevertheless, the line in *Satiromastix*, Sc. 7—

"For trusty Damboys now the deed is done,"

seems to be taken from a play on the subject earlier than 1601. It was published as acted by the Paul's boys, which is puzzling, as Chapman did not write for them any other play. It appears, however, from the Revels accounts that E. Kirkham, who in 1604 was a manager of the Revels

children, before 1605 became a manager of the Paul's boys. He probably took this play with him to his new management. One of Chapman's latest literary occupations was the revision of the text as in the 1641 edition. The play in this form was acted by the King's men, with Swanston as Bussy. This we learn from Gayton's *Festivous notes on Don Quixote*, 1654. It appears from the Prologue that Field had previously acted this part—for the King's men, I suppose, c. 1617–18, as this is a Prologue written for that company. Swanston, who was a King's man 1625–42, no doubt acted it at Court 1634, April 7, when it was revived there, and the corrections and emendations made "by the author before his death" were the very last writing left us of his pen. I think the play was written for the Queen's Revels boys late in 1604, but, on account of the *Eastward Ho* affair and their consequent inhibition, not produced by them, but transferred to Paul's and acted in 1605. A parallel case to the transference from them to the King's men, c. 1607, will be found in Beaumont's *Woman Hater*. The "horns" in iv. 1 should be compared with the "V" in *May Day*, iv. 4, first explained by my lamented friend H. Staunton, and with King Christian's making "the sign of the horns with two fingers" at the Admiral (*Raumer*, ii. 216) to amuse "good Queen Anne," 1606, Aug. 31. The "killing of the King," iii. 2, is frequently alluded to in other plays.

13. *Eastward Ho* was written 1604–5; Winter, by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston. Chapman's part is from ii. 2 to iv. 1. For the imprisonment, &c., of the authors, see under Jonson and Marston. The allusions to the Scots occur in Marston's and Chapman's parts. Marston introduces Poldavy in a Scotch farthingale, and makes Girtred say, "Is this a right Scot? Does it clip close and bear up

round?" i. 2. And again, in ii. 1, Quicksilver (a caricature of Luke Hatton, see *Athenæum*, 13th Oct. 1883) says, "She could have been made a lady by a Scotch Knight." In iv. 1, by Chapman, is the better-known passage, "I ken the mon weel; he is one of my thirty pound Knights." On the relation of this play to *Hamlet* much interesting matter—injured, however, by a want of knowledge of stage history—will be found in Mr. Feis' *Shakspeare and Montaigne*. This play was entered 4th Sept. 1605, and published, no doubt by way of vindicating the authors, soon after their release.

14. *The Widow's Tears*, published on 17th April 1612, S. R., was acted at Blackfriars c. 1605, and afterwards at Whitefriars. It contains in its final scenes a bitter satire on the incompetence of judicial authorities who condemn on merely presumptive evidence. This seems to be Chapman's revenge for his imprisonment for *Eastward Ho*. There is not a line in it which implies a later date than 1605. In *Appius and Virginia*, c. 1607, "I would not have my beef powdered with a Widow's Tears" seems to refer to this play. It must have been written before 1609, and surely could not have been a later production than *Byron*. It was published by Chapman, with a Dedication to Mr. Jo. Reed of Mitton. Lysander of Dipolis looks like a Græcized form of Freeman of Ditton. The play may be a personal satire. In i. 1 the drawing up in a basket, and letting Tharsalio hang "for all the wits in the town to shoot at," seems personal. Compare Vandall (Mendall) in Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money*, iv. 2, which dates 1598, Feb. "Monopolies are cried down," i. 1, surely alludes to the Act of Jan. 3, 1605. The prose in this play is in many parts corrupted verse, and I feel sure that, though published with Chapman's authority, he had nothing to do with overseeing

the text for the press. The plot is from *The Ephesian Matron* in *Petronius Arbiter*. As Mr. Greenstreet's recent discovery, published since the issue of my *History of the Stage*, that the children of the King's Revels performed at Whitefriars 1607-8, may seem to throw a doubt on the company for whom Chapman wrote this and other plays, it may be well to point out here that no connexion whatever has been traced between him and the King's Revels boys, and also that they never performed at Blackfriars. The Revels boys of Chapman are those of the Queen's Revels only.

15. *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* is like *Byron*, but not so like the play of 1604-5 to which it is a sequel. The description of the results following a "tedious siege" in i. 1 infer a time subsequent to the taking of Ostend in 1604. The allusions to stage puppetry and Puritan innovation, also suit a date c. 1606. It was entered S. R. 17th April 1612, with the *Widow's Tears*, and, like it, although printed in 1613 as acted at Whitefriars, was probably produced at Blackfriars originally. In iii. 1, "like a Sir John Smith." Sir John Smith was knighted 1603, May 11. Chapman dedicated this play to Sir Thomas Howard.

16, 17. *Byron's Conspiracy*, 1607, and *Byron's Tragedy*, 1608, were entered S. R. 5th May 1608. They were published with a dedication to Sir T. Walsingham and his son, in which Chapman calls them his "poor dismembered poems." It appears from a despatch from Beaumont, the French Ambassador (*Raumer*, ii. 219, in the translation), dated 5th April 1608,¹ that he caused the acting of this play to be forbidden, that when the "Court had left town they

¹ 1605 in the translation, and so in the inaccurate editions of Chapman hitherto published. Chapman has never yet been really edited. Some future Dyce may accomplish this work.

persisted in acting it; nay, they brought upon the stage the Queen of France and Mademoiselle Verneuil. The former, having first accosted the latter with very hard words, gave her a box on the ear. At my suit three of them were arrested; but the principal person, the author, escaped." It is plain from iv. 1 of the *Conspiracy* that Queen Elizabeth was in the original play also represented on the stage, that scene being clearly a rewriting in narrative form of a scene at the English Court. Note especially the absurdity of the line in the present version spoken by Créqui to D'Aumont—

"Then spake she to Crequi and Prince d'Auvergne;"

the change of person in—

"*He* said *he* was no Orator, but a soldier,
More than this air in which you breathe hath made *me*
My studious love," &c.;

and the peculiar printing of the first eight lines, followed by THUS, as if to point this word as the real beginning of the scene. No such type is used elsewhere in the play except at the beginning of i. 1. The end of this scene and all the rest of Act iv. has been cut out. Again, in the final scene, from *Enter Esp.* to the end, great alterations have been made. The only remains of the original are *Sav.* "After—matter" (14 lines): *Hen.* "Well, cousin—happiness" (25 lines), and the final couplet. None of the characters, Espernoun, Vitry, Janin, D'Aumont, Créqui, Ladies, have been transferred from the original, so far as the present conduct of the play is concerned. Note also that in these altered passages Byron is called Duke of Býron, in the original Duke Byrón, except once in a doubtfully bombastic passage, iii. 1, "Within my left hand—Duke of Býron forth," where "Duke Byrón" immediately precedes. If these alterations were made wholly or partly by Chapman at

the order of the Master of the Revels, he has made them intentionally in such a clumsy way as to show where the sutures occur. A peculiarity of the play is, that nine actors only are required. In the *Tragedy* still greater mutilations have been made; the early part of Act ii. has been omitted, and a passage, "If this suffice—yours," has been inserted to partially fill the gap. The dance evidently ought to *follow* Cupid's last speech. Henry's utterance at the end of Act ii. about "the reconciliation of my Queen" is unintelligible as the play now stands. The part here omitted was that which offended the French Ambassador. In v. 1 *Duke of Byron* occurs occasionally for *Duke Byrón*, but only by printer's error; never, as in the former play, by necessity of metre. In v. 2 is a compliment to the Scots by way of amendment for *Eastward Ho*.

In 1602, Sept.—Oct., Henslow mentions a play called *Berowne* or *Burone* which was acted by Worcester's men. It could not have been Chapman's play; the entries, which refer only to properties, were probably preparatory to the production of *The Unfortunate General*, the "French history" which was produced in Jan. 1603; or they may refer to Chettle's anonymous "tragedy" of Aug. 24. Byron was executed in July 1602.

A mask containing part of *Byron* is extant, Brit. Mus., *Egerton MS.*, 1994, and ought to be reprinted.

The plays on Byron were, in my opinion, the last brought on the stage by Chapman. The attempt to imprison him a second time deterred him henceforth from the theatre. But he had some unfinished plays at this time in hand.

18. *The tragedy of Cesar and Pompey* was entered S. R. 1631, May 18, and dedicated to the Earl of Middlesex. This is, I think, an old play which Chapman had on his hands when he left stage-writing in 1608, or perhaps in

1604. It was never acted. The text is in a disgraceful state, never having been competently edited. In both stage-directions and text Brutus is continually misprinted for Butas, and Septimius, Septius, and Sextus are so confused that it is only by reading the play with constant reference to Plutarch's *Lives*, on which it is entirely founded, that the complication can be disentangled. The text was certainly not revised by Chapman, who expressly tells us that the style avoids hasty prose; yet prose parts (apparently from the Admiral's play of 1594, Nov. 8) have been allowed to remain: in ii. 1, (Fronto's part,) "thunder—supplied," except 10 lines, "See all—pickle;" and in v. 1, "See your princess—view me better." This early play may have been by Chapman; if so, he intended to rewrite the whole, but was interrupted. He says the play [as it stands] was written long since, before his age had attained timely ripeness. It may seem forced to even guess that a personal allusion is meant in the title "proposition," Only a just man is a free-man [*sic*, not free man], but see above under *The Widow's Tears*, and note that Sir Francis Freeman of Nottinghamshire was knighted 1607, May 11. Chapman was an inveterate punster.

19. *The memorable Mask of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn* [Mask of *Plutus and Honour*] was performed at Whitehall¹ 1613, Feb. 15, at the nuptials of the Palsgrave and Princess Elizabeth. "Invented and fashioned . . . by our kingdom's most artful and ingenious architect, Innigo Jones. Supplied, applied, digested, and written by George Chapman." "Next to himself only Fletcher [Beaumont; Fletcher made none] and Chapman could make a mask" (Jonson, *Conversations*, iii.). The "vulgar esteemed upstart,

¹ Note this 1613. Jonson and Chapman begin their year Jan. 1; most other writers Mar. 26. These latter would have printed 1612.

the rank-brained writer and judge of poetical writing, who sells poesy's nectar and ambrosia, as well as mustard and vinegar" [for poultices], of Chapman's Introduction, is T. Campion, M.D., author of *The Art of English Poesy*, 1602, and supplanter of Jonson in *The Lord's Mask* of the day before Chapman's. Yet Inigo Jones contrived the motions for that mask also. The *Insania* attributed to Campion by Chapman will be understood on comparison with the madness of Entheus (Campion) in *The Lord's Mask*.

20. *The Ball*. 21. *Chabot*. For these plays see Shirley, 13, 23.

22. *Fatal Love*, a French tragedy, S. R., for H. Moseley, 29th June 1660. MS. destroyed by Warburton's servant.

23. *The Yorkshire Gentlewoman and her Son*, T., S. R., for H. Moseley, 1660, June 29. MS. destroyed by Warburton's servant.

CHEEKE, HENRY. (Play.)

1. *Freewill*, n.d., black letter. A tragedy written first in Italian by F[rancisco] N[ero] (Niger) B[assentino], translated into English by Henry Cheeke, "wherein is set forth in manner of a tragedy the devilish Device of the Popish Religion. London, by John Tysdale." S. R. 1561, May 11. Mr. Halliwell says "about 1589." The original *Tragedia del Libero Arbitrio*, 1546, is in the Cambridge University Library; also a Latin version, made by Nero or Niger himself, Geneva, 1559. In the Trinity College Italian copy, 1547, the name is printed "Nero;" in the 1546 copy, "Niger."

CHETTL, HENRY. (Plays.)

32. *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*. See Day.

1. 16. 1. 2. *Robert Earl of Huntingdon*. See Monday.

25. *Patient Grissell*. See Dekker.

42. 45. *Hoffmann*. See Heywood.

47. *Sir Thomas Wyatt*. See Dekker.

Chettle was born c. 1562; apprenticed to T. East, stationer, 8th Oct. 1577, for 8 years as from the preceding Michaelmas; on 6th Oct. 1584 was admitted freeman of the Stationers' Company; in 1591 entered into partnership with J. Hoskins and J. Danter. He is mentioned as "your old compositor" in Nash's *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596. In the latter part of 1592 he edited *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*; the same year he prefixed an epistle to the second part of Monday's translation of Bodelois' *Gerileon*; c. Jan. 1593 he issued his *Kindhart's Dream*; in 1595, *Piers Plainness' seven years Prenticeship*; in 1603, *England's Mourning Garment*, in which he speaks of himself as "young almost 30 years ago," and enumerates the then chief living poets, viz.: 1. Daniel, 2. Warner, 3. Chapman (Coryn), 4. Jonson (English Horace), 5. Shakespeare (Melicert), 6. Drayton (Corydon), 7. Lodge (Musidore), 8. Dekker (anti-Horace), 9. Marston (young Melibee), 10. Petowe (Hero's last Musæus), 11. the author of "*King James proclaimed*," S. R. 30th Mar. 1603. Chettle died before Nash's *Knight's Conjuring* was published, Jan. 1606. His dramatic career, as far as known, lies between 1597 and 1603. All that follows is from Henslow's *Diary*. He was mentioned by Meres in 1598.

1. 1598, Feb. 20, 25, 28; Mar. 8. *The second part of the Downfall of Earl Huntington, surnamed Robin Hood* (with Monday).

2. 1598, Mar. 13. "A book wherein is a part of a Welshman written" (with Drayton), probably the same as

3. 1598, Mar. *The famous wars of Henry 1 and the Prince of Wales* (with Dekker, Drayton).

4. 1598, Mar. 25, 30. 1. *Earl Godwin and his three sons* (with Dekker, Drayton, Wilson).

5. 1598 [April]. *Piers of Exton* (with Dekker, Drayton, Wilson).

6. 1598, May 22. 1. *Black Betman of the North* (with Dekker, Drayton, Wilson).

7. 1598, May 6; June 6, 10. 2. *Godwin* (with Dekker, Drayton, Wilson).

8. 1598, June 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26. *Richard Cordelion's Funeral* (with Drayton, Monday, Wilson).

9. 1598, June 26; July 8, 13, 14. 2. *Black Betman* (with Wilson).

10. 1598, July 14. *A woman tragedy*.

11. 1598, July 30; Aug. 8; Sept. 9, 16. *The Conquest of Brute with the first finding of the Bath* (with Day).

12. 1598, Oct. 12, 22. *Brute* [second part]. See Anon. 208.

13. 1598, Aug. 18. *Hot Anger soon cold* (with Jonson, Porter).

14. 1598, Aug. 19, 24. *Chance Medley* (with Drayton, Monday, Wilson). The entry is self-contradictory, having Chettle in one place to correspond with Dekker in another; but Chettle is more likely. Compare *Cordelion's Funeral*.

15. 1598, Aug. 21, 26, 29. *Catiline's Conspiracy* (with Wilson).

16. 1598, Nov. 18, 25. For Mending 1. *Robin Hood* for the Court.

17. 1598, Nov. 25, 28. *'Tis no deceit to deceive the Deceiver*.

18. 1599, Feb. 26, 27. *Troy's Revenge*, with the tragedy of *Polyphemus*.

19. 1599, Mar. 22. *The Spencers* (with Porter).

20. 1599, April 7, 16. *Troilus and Cressida* (with Dekker).

21. 1599 [April]. *Sir Placidus*.
 22. 1599, May 26. *Agamemnon* (with Dekker).
 23. 1599, July 24; Aug. 23, 25; Oct. 14. *The Stepmother's Tragedy* (with Dekker).
 24. 1599, Sept. 3, 15, 16, 27. *Robert 2, King of Scots* (with Dekker, Jonson, and "other Jentellman." Query Marston, or, as I think, more likely Wadeson).
 25. 1599, Oct.; Dec. 19, 28, 29. *Patient Grisell* (with Dekker, Haughton).
 26. 1599, Nov. 10, 27; 1601, Sept. 24. *The Orphans' Tragedy*.
 27. 1599, Dec. 13, 17. *Arcadian Virgin* (with Haughton).
 28. 1600, Feb. 16; Mar. 10; April 26. *Damon and Pythias* (licensed for press 16th May).
 29. 1600, Mar. 1, 2, 8. *The Seven Wise Masters* (with Day, Dekker, Haughton).
 30. 1600, May 10, 14. *The Golden Ass: Cupid and Psyche* (with Day, Dekker).
 31. 1600, May. *The Wooing of Death*.
 32. 1600, May 26. *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (with Day).
 33. June 19, 20. 2. *Fair Constance of Rome* (with Day, Hathway).
- All the preceding plays were written for the Admiral's men at the Rose; the next group for the same company at the Fortune.
34. 1601, Mar. 31; April 6. *All is not gold that glisters*.
 35. 1601, April 18; May 16, 22. *King Sebastian of Portingal* (with Dekker).
 36. 1601, June, 5, 28; July 14, 17; Aug. 18, 24. *Cardinal Wolsey's Life* (licensed for press 3rd. Sept.).

37. 1601, Oct. 10; Nov. 6, 9, 12. *The Rising of Cardinal Wolsey* (with Drayton, Monday, Smith).

38. 1601, Nov. 14; 1602, Jan. 6, 7. *Too good to be true*, or *The Northern Man* (with Hathway, Smith).

39. 1602, Jan. 21. Mending *The Proud Woman* [of *Antwerp*, by Haughton. I suppose for the Court].

40. 1602, May 4. *Love parts Friendship* (with Smith).

1602, May 15. Mending the First Part (i.e., *The Life*) of *Cardinal Wolsey*. But I think, as properties, &c., were bought at this time for the performance of the Second Part, or *Rising*, that Henslow has made a mistake, and meant the Second Part. The First Part had already been expensively produced.

41. 1602, May 16; June 2, 26, 27. *Tobias*.

42. 1602, July 7. *Danish Tragedy* [Hoffmann].

43. 1602, Sept. 9, 15. *Femelanco*. Robinson, unknown elsewhere as a playwright (although Mr. Collier asserts the contrary, *Diary*, p. 225), was paid £3 on 9th Sept. (in part payment), but on 15th Sept. Chettle got 10s. more (in part payment for "*his* tragedy of *Femelanco*"). Robinson was, I think, to Chettle what Mrs. Harris was to Mrs. Gamp.

44. 1602, Dec. 17, 20, 22; 1603, Jan. 7. *The London Florentine* (with Heywood).

1602, Dec. 29. A Prologue and Epilogue for the Court (probably for *As Merry as may be*).

45. 1602, Dec. 29; 1603, Jan. 14. A Tragedy called *Hoffmann* (with Heywood. *N.B.*—"Like to like" in this entry is a forgery).

46. 1603, Mar. 12. 2. *Florentine*.

Here end the Admiral's plays by Chettle; but simultaneously with the latter part of them he was writing for Worcester's men at the Rose, also under Henslow.

45. 1602, Aug. 24; Sept. 7, 8, 9; 1603, Jan. 14. A tragedy (with Heywood). Undoubtedly *Hoffmann*. In this instance, by no means a solitary one, Henslow entered the play to the debit of both the Admiral's company and Worcester's. The "*Robin hoodfellow*" (a second thought for "*Robin Hood*") and "*Robin Goodfellow*," p. 239 of the *Diary*, are forgeries. Collier no doubt intended to identify the play with *Grim the Collier of Croydon*.

47. 1602, Oct. 15, 21. 1. *Lady Jane* (with Dekker, Heywood, Smith, Webster). See Dekker.

48. 1602, Nov. 2, 23, 26. *Christmas comes but once a year* (with Dekker, Heywood, Webster).

49. 1603, May 9. A play wherein is *Shore's Wife* (with Day).

All through these Henslow entries there is abundant evidence of Chettle's poverty. In June 1598 he borrowed 10s. of Henslow, and was then 30s. in his debt; on 16th Sept. he owed £8, 9s.; on 22nd Oct. £9, 9s.; in Nov. he borrowed 18s. 4d. "to arrest one with L. Leicester;" on 17th Jan. 1599 Henslow advanced 30s. for his charges in the Marshalsea; on 22nd March he strikes 10s. off his debt, but on 27th March again borrows 5s., and on 2nd May 20s. "to discharge Ingram's arrest." On 25th March 1602 he sealed a bond to write for Henslow's companies only; on 16th July he borrows 5s., and on 7th March 1603 Henslow had to advance 20s. to get his play out of pawn. These details show great penury.

Co, JA. (Play.)

1. "The design of a tragedy called *Romanus*, by Ja. Co." Brit. Mus., *MS. Harl.* 4628, 17th century.

COKAIN, Sir ASTON. (Mask and Plays.)

1. *The Obstinate Lady*, C., 1657, 1658, 1662.

2. *Trappolin supposed a Prince*, T. C., 1658, 1662.

3. *Mask at Bretbie*, 1658, 1662.

4. *Ovid*, T., 1662, 1669.

Born 1608, Dec. 28, in Derbyshire; member of Trinity, Cambridge, and of Oxford; entered at one of the Inns of Court; travelled on the Continent 1632; married Anne Kniveton of Mircaston, Derbyshire. Died at Derby, Feb. 1684.

1. *The Obstinate Lady*, C. The first edition was surreptitious; the second and third formed part of *A chain of Golden Poems*, along with *Trappolin* and *The Mask*. This play was written (and I think acted) before the closing of the theatres in 1642. It abounds with allusions to theatres as open (see pp. 30, 43, 54, 64, 73, Maidment's edition), and once mentions the Blackfriars and Cockpit. I conjecture the date of production to be c. 1631.

2. *Trappolin supposed a Prince* is, as he tells us in the Prologue, an adaptation of a piece he had heard twice at Venice, but not a translation; it was therefore produced after his return from the Continent.

3. *The Mask* was presented on Twelfth Night 1639-40, at Bretbie, in Derbyshire, before Philip Earl of Chesterfield (the author's uncle) and his Countess, two of their sons acting in it.

4. *Ovid's tragedy* was published in 1662, with the 2nd edition of the poems, as "intended to be acted shortly;" it was therefore probably written after the closing of the theatres in 1642.

Cokain's information in his letter to his cousin Charles Cotton (repeated in his verses to the publishers of the Fletcher folio), that Massinger joined Fletcher in writing some of his plays, is of great value, as giving a certain basis for critical separation of Fletcher's work.

COOKE, JOHN. (Play.)

1. *Greene's Tu Quoque*, or *The City Gallant*, for John

Trundle 1614, John Dewe 1622, M. Flesscher [1628]; acted by Queen Anne's servants [at the Bull], Thomas Greene taking the *Tu quoque* part. As he died in August 1612, a posterior limit of date is fixed. The allusion to the Bull, Sc. 12, gives an anterior limit, 15th April 1609. Heywood prefixed an address to the play, Cooke being dead. It was performed at Whitehall before the Prince 6th Jan. 1625 (the mask having been put off) by the Queen of Bohemia's servants, into whose hands it had passed on the breaking of the Revels company, formerly Queen Anne's.

As Sc. 16 seems to be directed against Coryat, whose *Crudities*, S. R. 26th Nov. 1610, *Crambe*, S. R. 7th June 1611, and *Banquet* were published in 1611, we may, I think, assume that to be the year of the first acting of the play. In Sc. 14—

“Speak but one word, and I am satisfied !
Or do but say but mum, and I am answered !
No sound, no accent ! Is there no noise in women ?”

palpably parodies *Romeo and Juliet*, ii. 1, 9 ; iii. 2, 85.

COWLEY, ABRAHAM. (Latin and University Plays.)

1638, for Henry Seile. { 2. *Naufragium Jocularis*, L. C.,
1638.
1. *Love's Riddle*, P. C., 1638.
3. *The Guardian*, 1650.

1. *Love's Riddle* was written “at the time of his being King's Scholar at Westminster School,” and therefore before 1636, when he was elected at Cambridge a scholar of Trinity, *ætatis* 17, having been born late in 1618, and published his *Poetic Blossoms* (S. R. 24th Oct. 1632, for Henry Seile, who also published his early plays) when he was 13 years old. The statement of his older biographers is correct in this matter of age ; the portrait issued with the poems was taken evidently for this publication, “*anno ætatis* 13” ; and

if his birthday was later in the year than 24th Oct. he would not have attained his 14th year at the time of the S. R. entry. *Love's Riddle* was probably written 1635.

2. *Naufragium Joculare, Comœdia acta in Collegio S. et individuae Trinitatis quarto Nonas, Feb.* [Candlemas, Feb. 2], *An. Dom.* 1638. [Not 1638-9.] Cowley must have, I think, taken his B.A. degree at this time, and commenced residence in 1635.

3. *The Guardian* was acted before Prince Charles at Trinity 12th Mar. 1641. At this time Cowley, I think, took his M.A. degree. The 1650 edition was printed imperfectly during his absence in the country, it having been neither made nor acted, but rough-drawn by him and repeated by the scholars. Accordingly a revised version was acted at the Duke of York's theatre 16th Dec. 1661, which was published in 1663 as *The Cutter of Coleman Street*.

The rest of Cowley's career does not concern us.

CROUSE, ——. (Latin.)

Of Caius College, Cambridge.

1. *Euribates*, 17th century. MS. in Emanuel Library.

D., J. (Play.)

1. 1639, June 18, for J. Okes. *The knave in grain*, or *Jack Cottington*.

1639, Oct. 22, assigned from J. Okes to J. Nicholson, *A knave in grain*, new vamt; 1640, written "by J. D." Halliwell, following *Biog. Dram.*, makes two plays out of this one. It was "acted at the Fortune many days" in its new shape. J. D. was the vamer, not the original writer. The scene was then laid in Venice; originally it seems to have been in England. Compare for title *The Whore* "new vamt" most likely for the same reason: viz., personal satire in the original play.

DABORNE, ROBERT. (Plays.)

1. 1612, Feb. 1, for W. Barrenger. *A Christian turned Turk, or The tragical lives and deaths of the two famous pirates, Ward and Dansiker*, T., 1612.

9. *The Poor Man's Comfort*, T. C., 1655.

The earliest notice I can find of Robert Daborne, M.A., Gentleman, is in the patent granted to him in conjunction with Rossiter, Tarbrooke, Jones, and Brown appointing them Masters of the (Second) company of the Queen's Revels children. The date of this patent is 4th Jan. 1609-10. The next notice of Daborne is the entry in the Stationers' Registers, 1st Feb. 1611-12, of his play, (1) "*A Christian turned Turk, or the tragical lives and deaths of the two famous pirates, Ward and Dansiker*, as it hath been publicly acted. Written by Robert Daborne, Gent." This was probably acted early in 1610 (by the Revels children), being founded on a prose account of the same matter (S. R. 24th Oct. 1609) "by Andrew Barker," master of a ship, who was taken by the confederates of Ward, and by them some time detained prisoner. I next meet with Daborne in the correspondence with Henslow preserved among Alleyn's papers at Dulwich, and published in the *Variorum Shakespeare*, vol. xxi., by Malone, and afterwards by Collier in a perplexingly confused muddle, without regard to chronological arrangement. As these letters are interesting, and give a unique narrative of the life of a third-rate dramatist in the pay of an extortionate stage-manager of the time of James I., I give here an abstract of them in chronological arrangement.

Document 1, p. 396. Daborne, on 17th April 1613, agrees to deliver to Henslow before the end of this Easter Term (8th May) his tragedy of (2) *Machiavel and the Devil* for £20. He has already received £6, is to have £4 on

completion of 3 acts, and £10 on completion of the play. We see from this that for a play by an inferior writer, on which he spent about two months' labour, he got a sum of £20, which was accounted "a vain thing" to expect when Jonson wrote his play of *The Case is altered* in 1598. At that time £6 was Henslow's usual payment.

2, p. 397. On 28th April Daborne borrows £1 of Henslow to bail his man "committed to Newgate upon taking a possession" for him.

3, p. 398. On 3rd May Daborne gets another £1 from Henslow, and promises to deliver the 3 acts fairly written on Friday (7th May).

4, p. 399. May 8. Yet another £1 from Henslow. *Machiavel* not ready this term, but shall come "on the neck of the new play they are now studying." Daborne asks for appointment of "any hour to read to Mr. Allen." This Alleyn, it seems, was stage-manager; Henslow looked after the finances.

5, p. 399. Daborne on May 16 has taken his wife home again, as "thank God, most of my troubles are ended; will meet Mr. Allen with you and read some. The play shall be ready next term with the first." Asks for another pound, and gets it.

6, p. 400. He gives on May 19 receipt for the £16 received to this date, and Mr. John Alleyn the actor (not *the* Alleyn, famous Ned) notes that the play is to be delivered with all speed. Edward Alleyn was concerned at this time with the Palsgrave's men at the Fortune; the Henslow-Rossiter company, for which Daborne was writing, was the Lady Elizabeth's.

7, p. 397. The company were expecting Henslow to decide (on June 4) whether they should come over or go to Oxford. Daborne sends 2 sheets more (of *Machiavel*) and

has given one Act of (3) *The Arraignment of London* to Cyril Turner to write, that that play may also be ready for them. Asks for another £1, and gets it 5th June. This "comming over" refers, I think, to the project of leaving the theatre in Whitefriars for Paris Garden, rebuilt and rechristened *The Hope* in 1614. Henslow's company (Lady Elizabeth's) was most likely still performing at Whitefriars.

8, p. 398. June 10 (Thursday). Daborne expected Henslow on Monday (7th June); will deliver in the last word this week: wants another £1: is troubled by "necessity of term business." Trinity Term ended on 12th June.

9, p. 403. June 18. Daborne sat up till past twelve the night before writing, and had to attend the Common Pleas this morning to acknowledge formal recovery: asks for £2 in earnest of *The Arraignment*, and will meet Henslow at the new play on Monday and conclude further.

10, p. 404. June 25. Has altered a scene in Act 3 of *Machiavel*: if Henslow will be paymaster for *The Arraignment* they shall have it; if not, "I must use other means to be furnished upon it" (in other words, he means to offer it to the King's men). "Before God I can have £25 for it, as some of your company know." Will Henslow advance £2 "till we settle"?

I do not find any evidence that Henslow did advance any money on *The Arraignment*, or that this play was acted by his company. On the other hand, he certainly did advance £10 on a play written by Field, Daborne, Massinger, and Fletcher, which play I have identified with (4) *The Honest Man's Fortune* (see Fletcher). In an undated letter (No. 11, p. 395) Field says, "Mr. Daborne and I have spent a great deal of time in conference about this plot." He asks

for £10 on condition that it be brought in finished on August 1. "On my knowledge Mr. Daborne may have his request of another company." In another undated letter (p. 404) Field says he is "taken on an execution of £30. I can be discharged for £20. £10 I have from a friend; if now in my extremity you will venture £10 more for my liberty I will never share penny till you have it again." This advance is asked for as on Field's private account, and has nothing in common with Daborne; but in a third letter it appears that Daborne and Massinger were in prison as well as Field (*Variorum*, iii. 337). Herein Field says, "You know there is £10 more at least to be received of you for the play. We desire you to lend us £5 of that, without which we cannot be bailed, nor I play any more till that be dispatched." Daborne adds, "The money shall be abated out of the money remains for the play of Mr. Fletcher and ours." Massinger also adds a line. They got the £5. Henslow had evidently advanced £10 before, and the full payment was to be £20 at least. All this must have occurred in the early part of July.

12, p. 402. On July 16 Daborne begs for one more £1, the very last "till the play be fully by us ended," and gets it.

13, p. 403. July 30. Daborne, anxious for "an answer and end to these businesses and debts betwixt us," requests Henslow either to be his "paymaster for another play or take £10 of your money we have had into your hands again and security for the rest." Daborne "had good certainty of means before I wrote unto you, which upon hopes of your love I forsook, and must now, if you and I had ended, return to them again." His occasions are urgent; he must sell what estate he has. Will Henslow lend him £1 "till we deliver in our play on Thursday" (Aug. 5)? The "we" and "our" in this letter, with the coincidence of

month dates, fix the year of Field's undated letters, which evidently refer to the same transaction.

14, undated, p. 401. "I did think I deserved as much money as Mr. Messinger. . . . I pay you half my earnings in the play, beside my continual labour and charge employed only for you. . . . I beseech you . . . let me have 10/- more." And in a postscript, "I pray, sir, let your boy give order this night to the stagekeeper to set up bills against Monday [Aug. 9] for *Eastward Ho*, and on Wednesday the new play."

15, August 23 (wrongly dated Aug. 3, compare Henslow's note), p. 405. Daborne has kept his bed, lame. Has come down from £20 to £12 a play; begs Henslow to go forward with the bargain about (5) *The Bellman*. We [Query Daborne and Turner; certainly not Fletcher or Massinger] will have but £12 and the overplus of the second day, whereof I have had 10/-, and desire but 20/- more till you have 3 sheets of my papers." Henslow lends him the 20/-. Daborne sent his wife with this letter.

16, October 14, p. 408. Will bring in the whole play next week; begs for £2 and acknowledges debt, "with my quarter's rent, £8; for which you shall either have the whole company's bonds to pay you the first day of my play being played, or the King's Marshal pay it and take my papers."

17, October 29, p. 406. Daborne wants Henslow's decision whether the company shall have the play or not. "They rate upon me, I hear, because the King's men have given out they shall have it." He sends 2 sheets besides one sent previously; asks for 30/-, making just £8, besides his rent, "which I will fully satisfy you either by them or the King's men as you please;" *i.e.*, according as Henslow determines to take the play or let the King's men have it. Henslow lends him 20/-.

18, November 7, p. 410. Daborne asks for 20/-, and "the Book you promised;" 10/- "will not do."

19, November 13, p. 407. Henslow's man finds Daborne writing the last scene. Being Saturday night, he wants 10/- more: "for your money if you please not to stay till Johnson's play [*Bartholomew Fair*, not acted till 31st Oct. 1814] be played. The King's men have been very earnest with me to pay you in your money for your courtesey, wherein you shall have 30/- profit, with many thanks." That is, 30/- interest on an advance of £10 "besides my rent"—no small interest. He will finish the play to-morrow.

20, the same day, p. 409. Henslow's answer to No. 19 was an accusation of "breach of promise." Daborne sends "the foul sheet" and the partly finished fair one which he was writing when the man came, and gets a loan of 8/-. He will perfect the book, "which shall not lie on your hands." Was it then to be sold to the King's men? This does not read as if Henslow's company were to act it. And was this *Bellman*, which appears from Henslow's note on the 23rd August letter to have been called *The Bellman of London*, anything else than *The Arraignment of London*, the negotiation for which had fallen through? Compare the Act 3 written by Turner (25th June) in the one, with the "us" (16th July) in the other.

21, November 27, p. 409. Asks for and gets 20/-; will settle on Tuesday (Nov. 30).

22, December 9, p. 411. Daborne asks for 20/- "on the play you have" (*The Bellman*), or on "my other out of your book" (6) *The Owl*, borrowed on 7th Nov. He only wants £10 for "as good a play for your public house as ever was played." This "public" house was Paris Garden, where the bears were baited. Henslow's other house, then,

must have been a *private* one; *i.e.*, that at Whitefriars, and not the Swan, as we might otherwise have supposed.

23, December 24. Daborne enters into a bond acknowledging receipt of £7 out of £10 for *The Owl*; the balance to be paid on delivery of the play, fully perfected, on 10th Feb. next ensuing.

24, undated. Begs for 10/- more on *The Owl*, and gets it.

25, December 31. Yet one more 10/-. Has been ill "of an extreme cold." Granted. Will come on Monday (Jan. 3) to "appoint for the reading the old Book" (*The Bellman*), and "bring in the new" (*The Owl*). So Henslow's company, after all, act *The Bellman*.

26, undated. Borrows through Mr. Griffin 40/- on a Patent "worth £100."

27, Mar. 11, 1613-14. "Sir, if you do not like this play when it is read you shall have the other, which shall be finished with all expedition. . . . I pray send me 10/-, and take these papers, which wants [*sic*] but one short scene of the whole play." What plays are these? The second one is no doubt (8) *The She Saint*, hereafter mentioned; but the first is not *The Owl*. For in the next letter Daborne asks £12 for it, and he had already sold *The Owl* for £10. I conjecture that it was (7) *The Faithful Friends*, a play written in the early part of 1614 (as is manifest from the allusions in it to the Masques, &c., at the marriage of Carr, Earl of Somerset), and very like in metre and style to the part of *The Honest Man's Fortune* assigned by me to Daborne. If this conjecture be correct, Henslow accepted the play. He sent the 10/- asked for by Daborne's daughter, now first mentioned.

28, March 28 (wrongly dated 1613; compare Henslow's note). Daborne sends the play complete; offers Henslow

the choice of this one (*The Faithful Friends?*) now, or another (*The She Saint*) to come; asks £12 each for them; wants an advance of 20/-. Mr. Pallant is much discontented with Henslow's neglect of him. Henslow lets him have 10/- "in full payment of his new play last written," and on 2nd April pays him 8/- "in earnest of *The She Saint* at his own house."

29, Aug. 1, p. 408. Daborne asks for a loan of 10/-. Being Sunday, he is pressed for money, because Lord Willoughby has sent for him to go to him on Monday morning by 6 A.M., "and I know not how profitable it may be to me, and without your kindness herein I cannot go; he goes away with the King to-morrow morning." This is evidently a private transaction. Daborne left writing for the stage about June 1614, when "Mr. Pallant was brought in," *i.e.*, when Prince Charles' men joined the Lady Elizabeth's, and writes in August like a man freed from care and comparatively cheerful. Henslow, of course, lent the money. This letter is undated by Daborne, but Henslow has added the date 2nd Aug. 1614 either from ignorance (his *Diary* is crowded with similar mistakes) or to avoid dating a loan on a Sunday. The King set out on his progress early on Monday morning, and we may trust that Lord Willoughby was profitable to Daborne, for the next we hear of him—unless the bond of 1615, July 4, noted under Massinger, be genuine—is as a preacher at Waterford in 1618, where a sermon of his on Zechariah ii. 7 was published.

The only other detail I know of his career is, that he wrote a play (which I have not seen) called (9) *The Poor Man's Comfort*, published in 1655.

Daborne as a writer is insignificant apart from his connexion with greater poets; but the year of Daborne's life here epitomized is very interesting, being a unique example

of the dealings between the harpy managers and poor stage poets in the Jacobean time. Various points carrying with them inferences of some import for dramatic history are also here newly set forth, as will be evident to the careful reader. It may be useful, in order to show the special bearings of the different parts of this one year's correspondence, to summarize it thus:—

2. 1613, April 17–June 25. *Machiavel and the Devil*, i.
3. 1613, June 18–June 25. *The Arraignment of London*, ii.
4. 1613, July. *The Honest Man's Fortune*, iii.
5. 1613, Aug. 23–Nov. 13. *The Bellman of London*, iv.
6. 1613, Dec. 9–Dec. 31. *The Owl*, v.
- 7.) 1614, March 11–March 28. { *The Faithful Friends*, vi.
- 8.) { *The She Saint*, vii.

Daborne must have quitted play-writing at or before Henslow's death, 1616, Jan. 8.

1. *The Christian turned Turk*, T., was founded on Andrew Barker's book on them, S. R., for John Busby, junior, 1609, Oct. 24. He was a master of a ship taken by Ward's confederates, and "some time detained prisoner." John Busby, senior, had on July 3 published two ballads on them, and on June 2 entered a prose account of their piracies, called *News from the Sea*, which was forbidden on June 12. The play was no doubt performed early in 1610 by the Queen's Revels children at Whitefriars.

9. *The Poor Man's Comfort*, acted at Drury Lane [by Queen Henrietta's men], was no doubt originally acted by the Queen's Revels boys about the same time as the preceding; certainly before 1613.

Of Daborne's other plays enough has been said. See also, under Fletcher, for

4. *The Honest Man's Fortune*.

6. *The Owl*, entered S. R. 1624, June 29, is Drayton's poem, not Daborne's play.

DANIEL, SAMUEL. (Plays, masks.)

1. 1593, Oct. 11, for S. Waterson. *Cleopatra*, T., 1594, *bis* (*Delia*, with separate title), 1595, 1598; 1599 (*Poetical Essays*, with separate title); 1605 (*small poems*); 1607 (*small works*), 1611; 1601 (*works*), 1602, 1623 (altered), 1635 (1623 copies with new title-page).

2. *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, mask, 1604, by T. C[reede], for S. Waterson; 1623 (*works*), 1635. Called *The Wisdom of the 12 G.* in some copies by mistake.

3. 1604, Nov. 29, for S. Waterson and E. Blunt. *Philotas*, 1605 (*small poems*, with separate title), 1607 (by M. Bradwood for E. Blunt), 1607 (by J. W. for S. Waterson), 1611, 1623 (*works*), 1635.

4. 1605, Nov. 26, for S. Waterson. *The Queen's Arcadia*, 1606 (by G. Elde), 1607 (*small works*), 1611; 1623 (*works*), 1635.

5a. *Tethys' Festival*, or *The Queen's Wake*, 1610 (for John Budge); called "*The Royal Mask*" in the main title.

5b. *The Creation of Prince Henry*, 1610 (for John Budge, with the preceding, but with separate title).

6. 1615, Jan. 13, for F. Constable. *Hymen's Triumph*, P. T. C., 1615.

As the following notice of Daniel, which appeared in *Anglia* in 1889, was the last of my writings presented to and approved by Robert Browning, the reader will perhaps excuse my dislike to remodel it into accordance with the usual form of those of other dramatic writers, or indeed to alter it at all. As the order of publication in Daniel's case coincides with that of production, I need not add a separate account of the plays and masks. Nor do I desire to enlarge the notice, except by the statement that "a very worthy

man, worthy to be one of your privy chamber or poet laureat," in *Northward Ho*, iv. 1, certainly is meant to indicate Bellamont (Chapman) as a fitting successor to Daniel in those appointments. That play was acted by the Paul's boys early in 1605, just after Daniel's disgrace caused by his *Philotas* :—

Samuel Daniel, son of John Daniel, a music-master, was born not far from Taunton, in Somersetshire, in 1562–3 (Fuller). He was entered as a commoner at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1579, *ætatis* 16. In 1582 he left Oxford without taking a degree (Wood), and was received under the patronage of Mary, the Countess of Pembroke, who "first encouraged and framed" him to rhyming measures at Wilton, "his best school." He was "drawn further on" by the approbation of her son, the Earl, to "bestow all his powers therein." On 26th Nov. 1584 a translation of Paulus Jovius' *Imprese* was entered on the Stationers' Registers for Simon Waterson. To this "discourse of Military and Amorous Inventions" Daniel, the translator, prefixed a preface on the art of composing them, dedicating the work to the Queen's Champion, Sir Edward Dimmock. An epistle by N. W., dated from Oxford, accompanied this dedication. I venture the conjecture that N. W. was a Waterson, and that he introduced Daniel to the publisher, who remained a fast friend to him through life, and was one of the overseers appointed in his will. In this epistle a certain M. P. is mentioned, who, "climbing for an eagle's nest," was defeated by the malevolence of Fortune. That this person's name was M[aster] P[yne] is evident from the "devices" or "imprese" which he "limned" concerning himself, viz., "a *Pine* tree stricken with lightning," and "a *Pin-nace*" tossed with tempestuous storms. He was probably the John Pyne, parson of Bear Ferres, who pub-

lished *Latin Epigrams and Anagrams* in 1626, many of which are of much earlier date. I see that Doctor Grosart says that "it is vain to conjecture" who M. P. was; but, as he had not seen this conjecture when he wrote, and was thinking of the interpretation of M. P. as Mary Pembroke, I hope he may yet see reason to change his opinion.

In 1591 Nash's edition of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* was printed, containing twenty-seven *Sonnets* to Delia;¹ three of these were never acknowledged by Daniel. Delia has never been identified; Doctor Grosart does "not suppose it is likely now that we shall ever know who Delia was." And yet in Doctor Grosart's edition of Nash's works, iii. 214, in the dedication of *The Terrors of the Night*, 1594, to Elizabeth Carey, daughter and heir of Sir George Carey, we read that "the wittiest poets of our age have vowed to enshrine you as their second Delia." The first Delia was Queen Elizabeth. The second "clear lamp of Virginity" married Lord Berkeley, whose seat was Barkley Castle, on the Little Avon, in Gloucestershire; which is, notwithstanding this fact, not the Avon of Daniel's *Sonnet* 55, "Avon poor in fame and poor in waters;" though what "seat" Delia had on any Avon in 1592 is as yet unknown. But I do not think it vain or hopeless to attempt to discover it. It is very noticeable that in 1594, while Delia was still "a lamp of Virginity," Daniel retained his first version, "rich in fame," but in 1601 introduced the alteration. In like manner he altered

"I'll sound her name the river all along"

to

"No other prouder Brookes shall hear my wrong."

"My wrong," taken with many similar expressions in these

¹ "The only bird" *Sonnet* is a variant of *Sonnet* 13 of the collected edition. Grosart is wrong in saying that it was not reprinted by Daniel.

Sonnets, surely alludes to something more serious in this connexion than mere poetical Platonics. Was there at one time ground of hope for Daniel's marrying this heiress?

At the time of the surreptitious issue of these *Delia Sonnets* Daniel was probably in Italy (see *Sonnets* 49, 50), where he met Guarini, the author of *Il Pastor Fido*. He was then in the company of Sir E. Dymmock (see Daniel's *Sonnet* prefixed to *The Faithful Shepherd*). This fact, coupled with the dedication in November 1584 noted above, seems to point to Daniel's having attached himself to this patron on leaving Wilton, probably about that time (1584). On his return from Italy (and immediately so, in my opinion) Daniel hastened to publish a complete and more accurate issue of the *Delia Sonnets*, which were entered with *The Complaint of Rosamond* on the Stationers' Registers (for S. Waterson) 4th Feb. 1592.¹ There was a second edition printed before 25th March, and a third in 1594. Along with this third edition was printed *The Tragedy of Cleopatra*, which had been entered for Waterson 19th Oct. 1593. This tragedy was written at the command of the Countess of Pembroke, to whom it is dedicated. It is in the Seneca manner, with chorus presentation, and in rhymes; but I cancel my weaker observations on this point in favour of Mr. Saintsbury's excellent essay printed in Grosart's edition.

On 11th Oct. 1594 the dissension betwixt the Houses of York and Lancaster was entered (for Waterson). This contained Four Books of *The History of the Civil Wars*. The original title shows that this poem was meant to be a poetical rival to the theatrical "contention of the two famous houses of York and Lancaster" by Marlowe, &c.

¹ The *Ode* and *Pastoral* (very like Shelley in sentiment) were included in this issue.

(then on the stage), by one "whose verse respects not Thames nor Theatres" (*Sonnet* 55). The volume was issued in 1595; and in this same year, 27th Sept. 1595, *William Jones his Nennio* was entered on the Stationers' Registers. This book had verses by Daniel to the author prefixed, and was dedicated to the Earl of Essex. Daniel was now at the zenith of his reputation.

I pass over the ludicrous attribution of the verses on Willoby's *Avisa* to Daniel (in which S. D., I take it, means not S[amuel] D[aniel], but S[alutem] D[at]) with the remark that they fully bear out my assertion in my *Life of Shakespeare* that *Avisa* was an innkeeper's daughter, not a lady of generous birth, as Dr. Ingleby supposed.

In *Every man in his humor* (1598), v. 1, and *Every man out of his humor* (1599), iii. 1, passages from Daniel's *Sonnets* and *Rosamond* were ridiculed by Jonson for their absurdities. This was the beginning of the "jealousies" between Jonson and Daniel mentioned in Drummond's *Conversations*, which form one of the most important grounds for explanation of Daniel's career, but have hitherto been neglected by his biographers.

On 9th Jan. 1598-9 the *Poetical Essays*, including *The Civil Wars*, Book v., and *A letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius in Egypt*, were entered on the Stationers' Registers for Waterson. This book was dedicated to Mary Countess of Cumberland, the mother of Anne, the wife of Philip Earl of Pembroke. In my opinion she is the Octavia of the poem. It also contained a *Sonnet* to Charles Blunt, Lord Montjoy, who succeeded Sir E. Dimmock in the patronage of Daniel. In 1600 Daniel became tutor to Lady Anne Clifford, then eleven years of age, at Skipton, in Craven. This lady never lost her grateful memory of her tutor's instructions; Daniel's portrait still is extant in a large family

picture along with hers, and his whole works in verse in this painting stand on the same shelf as Spenser's. This is a very delicate compliment. The preparation of the edition of his works, known as the 1601 Folio, did not suffice to keep him in content during the three years he spent at Skipton. In 1603 he wrote to Egerton, the Lord Chancellor, of his "misery, that, whilst I should have written the actions of men, I have been constrained to live with children." His biographers regard this as ingratitude. Did they know the self-conceit, the intolerance of strangers, the rude ignorance, that have always characterized the inhabitants of the Craven Valley, they would be more forbearing to Daniel's natural weariness of his three years' residence there. During this time, on 16th Sept. 1601, a translation of *Il Pastor Fido*, to his old patron Dimmock and another, was entered on the Stationers' Registers. It is from Daniel's verses to this book that we learn the details of his stay in Italy already noticed. The only other poetic work during this tutorship was a sixth book (Book vii. of the final edition) of *The Civil Wars*, dated 1602 in the Folio edition, and *The Passion of a distressed man*, with the accompanying Epistle to the Earl of Hertford.

In March 1603 King James I. succeeded to the throne, and then came a great change in Daniel's position. He left Skipton and Lady Anne, and distributed copies of his 1601-2 Folio broadcast to every one whose patronage was likely to be useful to him. One copy he dedicated in 1604 (with specially printed verses) to the Bodleian Library at Oxford; another (with dedicatory MS. letter) to Lord Keeper Egerton. Of these more hereafter. To this same nobleman, in 1603, a year earlier, he printed an *Epistle*; as also to Lord Henry Howard, Margaret Countess of Cumberland, Lucy Countess of Bedford, Lady Anne Clifford, and

(to his praise be it spoken) to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. All these *Epistles* date c. April 1603; the specially printed dedications to the Queen, &c., a little later, c. May 1603-4, after the publication by E. Blount of his Folio volume (entered 30th May 1603), containing the *Panegyrick* delivered to the King at Burley Harington, in Rutlandshire, in April; the Six *Epistles*, and *Musophilus*, called in this first edition *A Defense of Rhyme*. This last-named poem, in answer to Campion's *Observations* (1602), was dedicated to Fulke Greville. Doctor Grosart is mistaken in assigning any of these to 1601 or 1602. At this same time he also addressed verse to "my dear friend" Florio on his translation of *Montaigne*, printed in 1603. Many of Jonson's sneers against Italianate authors who borrowed from Montaigne are directed against Daniel rather than Shakespeare. This has not been sufficiently considered by Mr. Jacob Feis in his useful but misleading book on the subject. The result of all these panegyrics was, that Lucy Countess of Bedford recommended him to the Queen to write the Court *Masque* (his first one) for Christmas. This was *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, presented at Hampton Court 8th Jan. 1603-4 by the Queen and her ladies, and published the same year by Waterson, with a dedication to the afore-named Countess. Immediately afterwards, 30th Jan. 1603-4, the children of the Chapel were taken under the Queen's protection, and a patent for them was issued to Kirkham and others under the title of Children of the Queen's Revels. They were not to act any play which had not been allowed by Samuel Daniel. His gratitude for this appointment is shown in his verses to the Queen already mentioned. The selection of Daniel as masque-writer and licenser aroused Jonson's "envy;" and naturally so, for Jonson's superiority was even then

sufficiently patent; and in his *Epistle to the Countess of Rutland*, which, though undated by his editors, is certainly of the year 1604, he mentions "Lucy the bright:"—

"Who, though she have a better *verser* got
(Or *Poet*, in the Court account,) than I,
And who doth me, though I not him, envy."

One of the first plays allowed by Daniel was his own tragedy of *Philotas*. The analogy between the careers of Philotas and the late Earl of Essex was so evident that indignation was at once excited, and in self-defence Daniel published the play, together with his *Ulysses and the Siren*, and reprints of his *Ode* and *Pastoral* under the title of *Certain Small Works*. These were accompanied by a letter to Prince Henry, and an apology—one of the weakest conceivable—to the effect that he had written Acts i. to iii. a few months before Essex' execution; as if that excused his licensing Acts iv., v. three years after. This volume was licensed for Waterson and Blunt 29th Nov. 1604. It is clear that Daniel had been summoned before the Council on account of this play. In his letter to the Earl of Devonshire he says: "I told the Lords . . . I had read some part of it to your house. . . . I beseech you let not an Earl of Devonshire overthrow what a Lord Montjoy hath done, who hath done me good and I have done him honor: the world must or shall know mine innocency," &c. This is simply insolent; evidently written before the publication, which did not mend matters. In the Revels accounts at Court we find that the children who acted *Philotas* presented one play 20th Feb. 1603-4, for which payment was made to E. Kirkham; and two plays, 1st, 3rd Jan. 1604-5, for which payment was made to H. Evans and S. Daniel; but in 1606 Kirkham had gone to the Paul's

children, and Daniel's name occurs there no more. Neither do we hear of any children of the Queen's Revels again till the new company under Rossiter 1609-10, although a company of children of the King's Revels did act from 1607 to 1609. The inference is plain: Daniel was deprived of his licensing office, and the company reconstituted. But he did not lose the Queen's patronage; he was appointed some time before 1611 a Gentleman of her Privy Chamber.

In 1605 Grosart tells us Daniel prefixed verses to the translation of *Du Bartas* by J. Sylvester, "my good friend;" and Hazlitt's *Dictionary* mentions similar verses to Evondale's *French Garden*. But the event of this year was the acting of *The Queen's Arcadia* at Christ Church, Oxford, before the Queen in August. This fact proves that Daniel was still in favour with her, although he had been displaced as Court poet by Jonson, whose *Masque of Blackness* had been acted at Whitehall at the usual Christmas festivities on Twelfth Night 1604-5. Daniel's "Pastoral Tragicomedy" was entered for publication by S. Waterson 26th Nov. 1605. On 3rd April 1606 the Duke of Devonshire died, and Daniel published his *Funeral poem* on him soon after. In the margin of the 1607 edition occurs a mention of Sir William Godolphin, "his faithful friend." This poem was incorporated in the 1607 edition of the *Small Works*.

In 1609 another book was added to the *Civil Wars* (Book viii. of the final edition); and in the same year, January 1609-10, Jonson, in his *Epicene*, ii. 1, speaks disparagingly of comparisons between Daniel and Spenser, Jonson "and t'other youth" (Daniel), and so forth. Jonson also wrote, but did not publish, "*A Discourse of Poesy* both against Campion and Daniel, especially this last, where he proves couplets to be the bravest sort of verses, especially

when they are broken like Hexameters, and that cross rhymes and stanzas (because the purpose would lead him beyond eight lines to conclude) were all forced" (Drummond's *Conversations*). The date of writing this discourse is unknown; but I would place it after the production of Daniel's and Campion's *Masques* in February 1612-13.

In 1610, June 5, Daniel's *Queen's Wake*, or *Tethys' Festival*, was performed at Whitehall by the Queen and her ladies at the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales. This was published by Budge. In 1611 Daniel addresses John Florio, in verses prefixed to his *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, as his "dear friend and brother." As he does not use this form of address to any other author on similar occasions, I think that the old tradition of a connexion between Florio and Daniel by marriage has a basis of truth. But, on account of the foreign name Justina, I prefer the form of tradition which gives Florio's sister to Daniel for wife to that which makes a sister of Daniel married to Florio. It occurred to me that the term "brother" might mean fellow Gentleman of the Queen's Privy Chamber; but Daniel in these verses, while expressly mentioning Florio as occupying this position, does not claim this title himself, as he was careful to do in 1613. It is singular that Doctor Grosart, in discussing this matter, should say of Daniel, "But he had no sister, so far as appears," and on the next page should quote (in his will), "I bequeath to my sister Susan Bowre."

On 27th June 1612 Daniel's *History of England* was entered on the Stationers' Registers for Waterson, and about the same time, I think, he was appointed Gentleman Extraordinary of Her Majesty's most royal Privy Chamber; under which title he signs in 1613 the verses to Florio in his *Montaigne*, altered from the 1603 edition. On 3rd

Feb. 1613-14 Daniel's Pastoral, *Hymen's Triumph*, was performed at Somerset House at the marriage of Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, Lord Roxburgh, to Mrs. Jane Drummond; "solemn and dull," writes Mr. Chamberlain. It was published by F. Constable 13th Jan. 1614-15. Between the performance and publication Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was acted publicly and at Court in the early winter (Oct. 31, Nov. 1). In this play Daniel is satirized as Littlewit. The grounds for this bold assertion of mine are the following:—

Littlewit is the author of the interlude performed by the puppets. These puppets are described as "pretty youths; all children, both old and young;" they are "as good as any for dumb shows." Cokes pays not two but twelve pence for admission. All this and more, too long to extract here, shows that the Queen's Revels children, to which Daniel had been manager and licenser, are the company ridiculed. But there are allusions still more personal. "Hang the author's wife! Here be ladies will stay for ne'er a *Delia* of them all." There is no possibility of mistaking that. Again, Cokes inquires at the puppet-show booth for "the master of the monuments." This brings us to the *Epigrams* of Sir John Davis on Dacus. *Epigram* 45 identifies Dacus and Daniel. It ridicules the "silent eloquence" of Daniel's *Rosamond*, which was, in like manner, jeered at in Jonson's *Every man out of his humor*, iii. 1. And *Epigram* 30 on this same Dacus runs thus:—

"Among the poets Dacus numbered is,
 Yet could he never make an English rhyme;
 But some prose speeches I have heard of his,
 Which have been spoken many a hundred time.
 The man that keeps the elephant hath one,
 Wherein he tells the wonders of the beast;
 Another Banks pronounced long ago,
 When he his curtal's qualities exprest;

He first taught him that *keeps the monuments*
 At Westminster his formal tale to say ;
 And also him which *puppets represents* ;
 And also him which with the ape doth play.
 Though all his poetry be like to this,
 Amongst the poets Dacus numbered is."

Dacus is Daniel ; Littlewit is Dacus : the Euclidian reader will draw the inference. After all, it comes to much the same as Jonson's prose statement—"Daniel was a good honest man : had no children, but no poet." Another direct allusion to Daniel occurs iv. 2, where Quarlous takes his word Argalus from Sidney's *Arcadia*, Winwife his Palémon¹ from Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*. Notice also the numerous allusions to masques in iii. 1.

From a letter of Sir George Buck, the Master of the Revels, it appears that, on the mediation of the Queen on behalf of Samuel Daniel, the King appointed a company of youths to perform plays at Bristol under the name of the Youths of Her Majesty's Royal Chamber of Bristol. Buck consented, "as being without prejudice to the rights of his office." This letter is dated 10th July 1615. A week afterwards the patent was issued (17th July), not for Samuel, but John Daniel, his brother. This John was not a player (as Mr. Collier tells us), but a Bachelor of Music in the Prince's service who had published (6th April 1606, S. R.) *Songs for the Lute*, &c. The authority of this patent was resisted, and in April 1618 "letters of assistance" were granted to John Daniel authorizing him to assign by letters to these players (Martin Slaughter and others) power to act anywhere in His Majesty's dominions. The attempt to establish a permanent stage at Bristol was clearly a failure. Dr. Grosart has omitted notice of these documents (given

¹ This Palémon has nothing in common with the Palāmon of *Palamon and Arcite*, as supposed by the commentators.

in Collier's *Stage Annals*, i. 411), on the ground of that gentleman's well-known propensity to forgery: he did not notice that it was also given us earlier by Chalmers.

At the time of this appointment of Bristol players, July 1615, we must, I think, place Daniel's retirement from London, where he had resided in Old Street, to Ridge Farm, Beckington, in Somersetshire, where we know nothing of his proceedings until 4th Sept. 1619, when he made his will. He died in October.

In his will Daniel left a legacy to his sister Susan Bowre, and appointed Simon Waterson (who had published the majority of his works) and John Phillips, his brother-in-law, overseers. As there is no mention of his wife, she probably died before him. He was buried at Beckington, and his former pupil, Lady Anne Clifford, erected a monument to his memory in that church. She was then Countess-Dowager of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery.

I have reserved for this place the most important discovery contained in this paper. Daniel was not merely "at jealousies" with Jonson, but was actually represented by him on the stage as Hedon in *Cynthia's Revels* as early as 1600. In iv. 1 Philautia (Hedon's mistress, and therefore Mrs. Elizabeth Carey) says, "I should be some Laura or some Delia, methinks." In *Sonnet* 40 to Delia, Daniel expressly calls her Laura:—

"Though thou, a Laura, hast no Petrarch found ;"

and again:—

"For though that Laura better limnèd he."

No other Laura-Delia is known in English literature. In ii. 1 Mercury describes Hedon as "a rhymer, and that's thought better than a poet." So in Drummond's *Conversa-*

tions Jonson says Daniel was "no poet;" and in his lines to the Countess of Bedford he calls him "a verser or poet in the Court account." But the conclusive passage is in v. 2. Crites says to Hedon: "You that tell your mistress her beauty is all composed of theft; her hair, stole from Apollo's goldy locks; her white and red, lilies stolen out of Paradise; her eyes, two stars plucked from the sky," &c. Compare the lines in *Sonnet 19*:—

"Restore thy tresses to the golden ore,
Yield Cytherea's son those arcs of love,
Bequeath the heavens the stars that I adore,
And to the Orient do thy pearls remove. . . .
Restore thy blush unto Aurora bright."

This identification of Hedon with Daniel will be found to be the key to many other personal allusions in Jonson's plays, and gets rid at once of the foolish conjectures which have been set forth that Hedon is Dekker, Marston, or Shakespeare, to none of whom does he bear the faintest resemblance. It seems probable, on comparing Jonson's three comical satires, that Hedon and Anaides are the same personages as Fastidious Brisk and Carlo Buffone in *Every man out of his humour*, and Hermogenes Tigellius and Crispinus in *The Poetaster*.¹ I thought that, if anything was settled in criticism, it was the identity of Crispinus and Carlo Buffone with Marston; yet recently one ignorant critic has identified Crispinus with Shakespeare, and has been praised by a still more ignorant criticaster for his "research" in so doing. It is clear that the beginning² of the turmoil among the three theatrical houses arose from Marston's abuse of Jonson and

¹ As Fastidious Brisk is palpably the same personage with Emulo in *Patient Grissel*, this identification also gets rid of a foolish assertion put forth by a Demi-Doctor some years since, that Emulo meant Jonson.

² "Beginning." That is, on the stage. The true beginning of the quarrel lay in the rivalry of the poets patronized by Mary Countess of Pembroke: Jonson and Donne, Daniel and Drayton.

praise of Daniel and Drayton in his *Satires* (entered S. R. 27th May 1598). Hence Jonson's coupling of Marston and Daniel (Hedon and Anaides); hence also, which is of more importance, Daniel's retirement from Court in 1600 to the Scythian barbarism of the Craven Valley. Other resulting conclusions from this Old Comedy passage-at-arms must be deferred for consideration to a more suitable occasion.

I have only to add that, in my judgment, Jonson's estimate of Daniel, in spite of a few splendid purple patches, such as the *Sonnet* to Carecharmer Sleep, and the recognition of Thyrsis and Sylvia in v. 1 of *Hymen's Triumph*, was in the main a just one. He was an honest man, but a verser, and no poet.

P.S.—I have thought it best not to disturb the text as first written; but since p. 86 was penned my anticipation that the Avon on which Delia had her seat might be discovered has been fulfilled. It was not the Stratford-on-Avon river (so that all Mr. Collier's inferences as to Shakespeare's want of fame in 1592, when we know that his Talbot scenes in 1. *Henry 6* were exciting a *furor* in London, are altogether dismissed to the limbo so well deserved by his numberless forgeries), but the Avon on which Bath and Bristol stand, the Lower Avon. It appears from a letter of Mr. Chamberlain's, 8th July 1602 (Nichols' *Progresses of James I.* iii. 573), that Sir George Carey, Delia's father, had a residence at Bath sufficiently important to receive a visit there from Queen Elizabeth. The visit, however, did not take place.

I ought also to have noted, for the clearer explanation of the allusions in the words "Second Lamp of Virginity," that this was the title under which the Queen's own trans-

lations of Queen Margaret's prayers were published. See Nichols, ii. 396; he adds that the book was entered S. R. 1582. It contained 7 *Lamps*; the Queen's translations are in the second. Each *Lamp* has a separate title-page. This *Lamp of Virginity*, by T. Bentley, was entered S. R. 7th November 1581, for H. Denham, and published 1582 as *The Monument of Matrons*. Nash's use of the words "Second Lamp of Virginity" was a direct insult to the Queen. Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, had also been called Delia, but Nash could not reckon her as his first lamp of Virginity; she was a married woman.

DAVENANT, WILLIAM. (Plays and Masks.)

1. *Albovine*, T., for R. M[eighen], 1629.

1630, Jan. 1, for Ephraim Dawson. 3. *The Colonel*, T. C.

1630, Jan. 10, for John Waterson.	{	2. <i>The Cruel Brother</i> , T., 1630.
		4. <i>The Just Italian</i> , T. C., 1630.

7. *The Temple of Love*, 1634.

1636, Feb. 4, for Richard Meighen.	{	9. <i>The Platonic Lovers</i> , T. C., 1636.
		5. <i>The Wits</i> , C., 1636.

1636, Feb. 19. 10. *Prince d'Amour*, mask, 1635.

11. *Britannia triumphans*, mask, 1637.

15. *Salmacida Spolia*, mask, 1639.

12. *The Unfortunate Lovers*, T., 1643.

6. *Love and Honor*, T. C., 1649.

Works, 1673, containing 8. *News from Plymouth*, C.; 13. *Fair Favorite*, T. C.; 14. *Spanish Lovers*, T. C., &c., in Folio.

William, second son of John Davenant, vintner, who owned the Crown Tavern at Oxford, was born in Feb., and

christened 3rd Mar. 1606; was educated at All Saints' School, and wrote an ode on Shakespeare's death in 1616. In 1621 John Davenant was elected Mayor of Oxford, and died in the same year,¹ a fortnight after his wife. That same year William had been entered at Lincoln College. John's will was proved 21st Oct. 1622. He left three daughters and four sons. William, being 16, was to be apprenticed to a merchant in London. He did go to London in 1622, but became not an apprentice, but first page to Frances Duchess of Richmond. Somewhere about 1626 he left her service for that of Fulk Greville, Lord Brook, who died 30th Sept. 1628. Davenant had then begun to write plays. Between 1630 and 1633 he had a long illness, which interrupted his play-writing (see Prologue to *The Wits*). In 1637 Jonson died, on 6th August. May and Davenant sought the Laureateship; Davenant got the patent 13th Dec. 1638. He had written a tract against Socinianism in 1637, but his first laureate production was *Madagascar, and other poems*, S. R. 13th Mar. 1638, for T. Walkley, by W. Davenant, "her Majesty's servant." *Madagascar* was addressed to Prince Rupert. Habington, in his verses commendatory, assumes that Davenant had the "laurel," thus anticipating the patent by nine months. On 16th Mar.² 1639 he obtained a patent to build a playhouse in Fleet Street; and on 27th June he was made Governor of the King and Queen's players at the Cockpit (*vice* W. Beeston), "for the remainder of Mrs. Beeston's lease," on account of their "disorder;" but in May 1641 Davenant was accused of subverting the army. He fled, was apprehended, brought to London, imprisoned for two months; was bailed, again

¹ So the biographers say; but compare William's age and the date of proving the will. Surely it must have been in 1622.

² Malone has 1640, but he also says "in the following year" to Dec. 1638 (*Variorum*, iii. 242).

seized, but escaped to the Queen in France. His subsequent career is most interesting as the principal link between the ante- and post-Restoration drama, especially in connexion with alterations in Shakespeare's plays, but is, unfortunately, beyond my limits. The Cockpit in 1641 seems to have relapsed to W. Beeston. See under Brome, Richard.

1. *The Tragedy of Albovine, King of the Lombards*, was not acted; it could not be personated by "copper-laced Christians." See Howard's *Commendatory Verses*. It was probably written in 1626, but touched up before publication in 1629. The plot is from Bandello's *Histoires Tragiques*, iv. 19, and the play is dedicated to the Earl of Somerset.

2. *The Cruel Brother*, licensed 12th Jan, 1627, was acted at Blackfriars by the King's men. It is dedicated to Lord Weston. Wither's *Abuses stript and whipt* is alluded to in ii. 2. Wither is the Castruccio of the play.

3. *The Colonel*, licensed 22nd July 1629, is evidently the same play as *The Siege*, T. C., of the 1673 Folio, in which the Colonel is a prominent character. Not one of Davenant's plays was left unpublished, and he was continually altering their names before publication.

4. *The Just Italian* was licensed 2nd Oct. 1629, and acted by the King's men at Blackfriars. Dedicated to the Earl of Dorset. In iv. 1—

"D'ye walk like Neptune in a mask,
Attended on by two of the calm winds?"

alludes to Jonson's *Fortunate Isles*, Jan. 1625. Note that the character-names Mervolle and Florello are repeated from *The Siege*.

5. *The Wits*, licensed 19th Jan. 1634, acted at Blackfriars by the King's men, was dedicated to Endymion Porter. In the Prologue we hear of Davenant's long sickness, 1630—

1633. The whale in the pageant, iii. 1, must have been in Heywood's *London's Mercatura*, 1633, which I have not seen. The plot should be compared with Fletcher's *Wit without money*. There are verses commendatory by Carew.

6. *Love and Honour* was licensed 24th Nov. 1634. Acted by the King's men at Blackfriars. Mildmay saw it in December. This play was called at first *The Courage of Love*; then *The Nonpareilles*, or *The Matchless Maids*; finally *Love and Honour*.

7. *The Temple of Love*, "by Inigo Jones, Surveyor of His Majesty's works, and William Davenant, Her Majesty's servant," was presented by the Queen and the Ladies at Whitehall, Shrove Tuesday, 18th Feb. 1635. See my *History of the Stage*, p. 319, 320. The dates in Maidment's edition are quite wrong, and seem to be made out on the hypothesis that Shrove Tuesday always fell on the same day of the month.

8. *News from Plymouth*, licensed 1st Aug. 1635, was acted by the King's men at the Globe, which at this time, according to the Prologue, was rather used for "shows, dancing, and buckler fights than art or wit." This play is evidently an alteration by Davenant from one by a superior author, who had laid the scene at Portsmouth, i. 2. Davenant did not publish it; it first appeared in the 1673 Folio.

9. *The Platonic Lovers*, licensed 16th Nov. 1635, was acted by the King's men at Blackfriars. It appears from the Prologue, spoken by an actor who had been of the company "in socks and buskins" thirty years (*i.e.*, by Lowin), that this play was written, at the Queen's command, on the same subject as her mask of *The Temple of Love*. This Platonic nonsense came up in 1634.

10. *The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour* was presented

in the Middle Temple, Wednesday, 24th Feb. 1636, to the Elector Palatine by the members of the Middle Temple. Written in three days.

11. *Britannia triumphans*, by Jones and Davenant, was presented at Whitehall by the King and his Lords, Sunday, 7th Jan. 1638. Omitted in the 1673 Folio. See my *History of the Stage*, p. 352.

12. *The Unfortunate Lovers*, licensed 16th April 1638, was acted by the King's men at Blackfriars. Dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke. Altered when revived after the Restoration. All Davenant's plays printed before 1639 were published by himself.

13. *The Fair Favorite*, licensed 17th Nov. 1638, appears only in the 1673 Folio. No company is mentioned. It may have been acted by the King's men or by Beeston's boys, of whom Davenant became manager in June 1639.

14. *The Spanish Lovers* (only in Folio 1673), undoubtedly the same play as *The Distresses*, licensed 30th Nov. 1639, is open to the same doubt as the preceding as to the company who acted it. The stage directions in the play prove that it (and doubtless the other abridged Folio plays) was printed from a stage copy. In v. 2—

“Some tale in *Dieava* [Diana] *de Monte Major*
Taught you this trick of wandering after your lover,”

refers to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, not to the *Lovers' Progress*.

15. *Salmacida Spolia* was presented by the King and Queen at Whitehall on Tuesday, 21st Jan. 1640. In this, as in all the masks, the week-day being given, I am enabled to correct the erroneous year dates hitherto assigned to them. The reckoning is throughout in the old way, with the year ending 25th March, and not, as in Jonson, on 31st December.

DAVENPORT, ROBERT. (Plays.)

3. 1639, Mar. 28, for Humphrey Blundon. *A New Trick to cheat the Devil*, C., 1639.

5. *King John and Matilda*, T., 1655, 1662.

2. *The City Night Cap*, or *Crede quod habes et habes*, T. C., 1661.

1. 1624, April 10. *The History of Henry 1* was licensed by Herbert (Reed). It is not, however, included in Chalmers' extracts from Herbert under that date. This play was entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, as *Henry 1 and Henry 2*, "by William Shakespeare and Robert Davenport," and was probably a prentice work of Davenport's refashioned from an older play, perhaps *The Famous Wars of Henry 1 and the Prince of Wales*, by Drayton, Dekker, and Chettle, March 1598. The MS. of this play was destroyed by Warburton's cook.

2. 1624, Oct. 14. *The City Nightcap* was licensed by Herbert [for the Lady Elizabeth's men] at the Cockpit. It is founded on *The Curious Impertinent* in *Don Quixote* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*, vii. 7. I think the passage in iii. 1, "I intend to compose a pamphlet of all my wife's virtues, put them in print, and dedicate them to the Duke as orthodoxal instructions against he marries," is a palpable allusion to Sir T. Overbury's *A Wife*, which had reached its eleventh impression in 1622. Yellow starch is alluded to as objectionable in iii. 3. The clown's rhymes and disclaimers in iv. 2 plainly show the play to have been a personal satire. In ii. 2 is a couplet adapted from *Venus and Adonis*; iv. 1 should be compared with *Pericles*, iv. 2, 6. This play is included in Beeston's 1639 list.

3. *A New Trick to cheat the Devil* was, like the preceding plays, acted at the Cockpit by Queen Henrietta's men; being also included in Beeston's 1639 list.

4. *A Fool and her maidenhead soon parted*, S. R. 1663, Nov. 29, is included in the same list.

5. *King John and Matilda* was also acted at the Cock-pit by Queen Henrietta's men, as we learn from the title-page and from the same list. For the characters see my *History of the Stage*, p. 311. This was published by A. Pennycuicke, who acted Matilda. As the Beeston list contains only plays acted before the plague broke out in May 1636; all these plays date between 1625 and 1636.

6. *The Fatal Brothers* was entered S. R. 1660, June 29, as Davenport's.

7. *The Politic Queen, or Murther will out*, was entered as his at the same date.

Besides these plays entirely from his hand—

8. *The Woman's Mistaken* was entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, by T. Drue and R. Davenport. It was probably an early work, c. 1622, before he had learned to run alone.

9. *The Bloody Banquet*. See Drue. Davenport also wrote poems, &c., for which see Hazlitt's *Handbook*.

10. "*The Pedler*, a comedy by Robert Davenport," was entered S. R. for [Robert] Allott 1630, April 8. But this was no doubt *The Conceited Pedlar*, by T. Randolph, which was in 1630 published by Allott, although it had been entered with *Aristippus* 26th Mar. 1630 for John Marriott.

DAY, JOHN. (Plays.)

23. *The Isle of Gulls*, C., 1606 (for John Hodgets), 1633.

25. 1607, June 29, for John Wright. *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, H., 1607.

24. 1608, Mar. 28, for Richard Moore. *Who would have thought it?* C., 1608.

26. 1608, April 12, for John Helme. *Humour out of Breath*, C., 1608.

29. } 1631, May 16, for { *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, T. C.

30. } John Jackman. { *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, T.

32. *The Parliament of Bees*, mask, 1641, for William Lee.

5. *Lust's Dominion*, T., 1657, for F[rancis] K[irkman]; sold by R. Pollard.

8. *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, C., 1659, for R. Pollard and T. Dring.

—. *Peregrinatio Scholastica*, MS. (prose tract).

Day was a student at Caius College, Cambridge.

1. 1598, July 30, *The Conquest of Brute with the first finding of the Bath* was purchased by Henslow for £2. It was therefore an old play. Chettle rewrote it in two parts, Sept.—Oct.

2. 1599, Nov. 1—14. *John Cox of Collumpton*, T. (with Haughton).

3. 1599, Nov. 21, 27; Dec. 5, 6. *The Tragedy of Thomas Merry* (with Haughton). This play was licensed as *Beech's Tragedy* Jan. 1600. See Yarrington.

4. 1600, Jan. 10. Henslow paid Day £2 in earnest of *The Italian Tragedy*, which may be the same as *The Orphans' Tragedy*. See Chettle and Yarrington. On 4th Jan. Day had borrowed 5s. (*Diary*, p. 95).

5. *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* of 13th Feb. 1600 (with Dekker and Haughton) is evidently the play published in 1657 as *Lust's Dominion*, or *The Lascivious Queen*. Collier pointed this out. See Haughton.

6. 1600, Mar. 1, 2, 8. *The Seven Wise Masters* (with Chettle, Dekker, Haughton).

7. 1600 [April 26], May 10, 14. *The Golden Ass, Cupid and Psyche* (with Dekker, Chettle).

8. *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (with the Merry Humour of Tom Stroud, the Norfolk Yeoman) was paid for 26th May 1600 (written with Chettle). This play was published for R. Pollard; cf. *Lust's Dominion*. Chettle, I think, wrote i. 1, ii. 1, 3, iii. 2, iv. 2; and Day i. 2, 3, ii. 2, 4, 5, iii. 1, iv. 1; the denouement being, as usual, of joint composition. Day spells Villiers, iii. 1; Chettle, Veleires, i. 1, v. 1. Sill. Clark acted Westford, iv. 3, but probably not in 1600; perhaps when performed by Prince Henry's men. In iv. 1 Stroud says, "Tully's *Offices* says that the capitol that Cæsar was stabbed in was Rome." Canbee answers, "Impute the gross mistake to the fault of the author." This unquestionably applies to Shakespeare's play, which therefore dates before May 1600.

9. 1600, June 19. "A book" was partly paid for (10s.) to Day (with Chettle). Thus far the payments were for the Admiral's men at the Rose. The following were for the same company at the Fortune. The book was possibly 2. *Fair Constance of Rome*; cf. entry June 20.

10. 1601, Jan. 29, Feb. 10, Mar. 10 [April], May 5. *The Second part of The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (with the end of Thomas Stroud), also called *The Second part of Thomas Stroud* (with Haughton). They received £6 in full payment, but no "honorarium," as Mr. Bullen alleges, beyond this the usual amount.

11. 1601, May 21; July 18, 25, 30. *The Third part of Thomas Stroud* (with Haughton).

12. 1601, April 4, 11; May 2, 21; Aug. 5, 11, 26; Sept. 1. *The Conquest of the West Indies* (with Haughton, Smith).

13. 1601, May 20; June 4, 6, 8. *Six Yeomen of the West* (with Haughton). As only £5 was paid, this was possibly the "book" of 1600, June 19.

14. 1601, July 4, 14. *Friar Rush*. I think *The Proud Woman of Antwerp* was a separate play by Chettle alone.

15. 1601, July 30; Sept. 3, 11. *The Second part of Thomas Dough* (with Haughton). The First part was probably the same as *The Six Yeomen of the West*. Only £4 paid. But Day was hardly pressed; he had borrowed petty sums of 2s. in July.

16. 1602, May 4, 23, 28. *The Bristol Tragedy*. Not *The Fair Maid of Bristol*, C., which belonged to the King's men.

17. 1602, Nov. 8, 17. *As Merry as may be* (with Haughton, Smith). "For the Court," and therefore paid £8, an unusually large amount.

18. 1603, Mar. 1, 7, 12. *The Boss* [not Boast] of *Bil-lingsgate* (with Hathway and perhaps Smith; his "fellow-poets" are mentioned).

At the same time, 1602-3, Day was writing for Worcester's men at the Rose, also under Henslow.

19. 1602, Nov. 24, 25; Dec. 20. *The Black Dog of Newgate* (with Hathway, Smith, and "the other poet," probably Haughton).

20. 1603, Jan. 7, 10, 16, 19. *The Unfortunate General*, a French history (with the same three poets).

21. 1603, Jan. 29; Feb. 3. 2. *Black Dog of Newgate* (with the same three poets).

1603, Feb. 21, 24, 26. "The four poets" get £2 more for "additions" to the same: £9 in all!

22. 1603, May 9. A Play "wherein *Shore's wife* is written" (with Chettle).

We next meet with Day as a writer for the children of the Revels.

23. *The Isle of Gulls* was acted at Blackfriars by the

children of the Revels. As they are not called "of the Queen's Revels," this must be after the *Eastward Ho* affair. It was, in fact, as we learn from the Induction, of later date than *Westward Ho*, *Eastward Ho*, and *Northward Ho*, which last was produced early in 1605. The exact date was Spring 1605. The Induction mentions "against Summer." This play was produced, then, at the time when the King had been brought upon the stage, and his wife had attended the public "representations in order to enjoy the laugh against her husband" (*Raumer*, ii. 207), and was almost certainly one of the series in which royalty was thus satirized; for, firstly, it was published surreptitiously; and, secondly, Basilius and Gynetia, who in the extant version are called Duke and Duchess, had in the original version been called King and Queen. "Queen" still remains in one place, i. 1, and once in iv. 1; and in v. 1 we find "Duchess" rhyming to "spleen" and "Duke" rhyming to "spring." The "Lacedemonians" in ii. 5, who complain of grievances "since your Majesty left the land," are, of course, the Scotch. The entertainment of the last ambassador, when Dametas loses his chain and purse in the great chamber at the Revels, iii. 1, is the mask at the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert, 1604, Dec., when the Ambassador of Venice was the only stranger bidden. "There was no small loss that night of chains and jewels," says Sir Dudley Carleton (*Nichols, James*, i. 471). On 28th Mar. 1605 (*Nichols*, i. 500) Calvert writes, "The players do not forbear to represent upon their stage the whole course of this present time, not sparing either King, State, or Religion, in so great absurdity and with such liberty that any would be afraid to hear them." This is too late for *Eastward Ho*, and refers, I believe, to the present play. Other allusions therein are to the executions of 29th Nov. 1603, "Shall's

quarter ourselves?" &c. (Induction), and to the peace of 1604: "Men and war were worn out of fashion both in a summer," iii. 1. Dametas, who is acknowledged in the Induction to be a satirical character, is, I think, Daniel. In iv. 4 he makes a rhyming speech, of which the 1 Captain says, "Sure he had some reason to make this rhyme an a man could pick it out." 2 Captain, rather than be counted inquisitive, contents himself with the rhymes, and leaves the reason to the scanning of poets whom it more nearly concerns. These poets are Marston, Chapman, and Jonson, in prison for *Eastward Ho*. Daniel had written his *Defense of Rhyme* against Campion. That Marston is the poet specially referred to is evident from the unmistakable allusion to him as the Poetaster, and from the Induction, where 1. the Critic is Jonson (who, by the bye, alludes to Rowland's *Letting of Humours blood in the Head Vein*, as Jonson had in his early version of the *The Tale of a Tub*), 2. the Bawdy writer is Chapman, and 3. the Fustian tragedian Marston (Jonson had given him his cognomen in *Every Man out of his Humour*). The whole story of the *Eastward Ho* affair is told in the two passages referred to. Moreover, Dametas acts a Comical-Historical-Tragical-Musical-Pastoral, iv. 4 (compare the Comical-Pastoral-Tragical - Musical - History of Apollo's Vicar in iii. 1). Daniel published his *Hymen's Triumph* and *Queen's Arcadia* as Pastoral Tragi-Comedies; and *The Queen's Arcadia*, although it is not known to have been acted till 1605, Aug. 30, had been prepared earlier (and perhaps acted at Herbert's marriage, 1604, Dec. 27), for it is called "*Arcadia, reformed*" (Nichols, i. 553). Again, in i. 3, Dametas is applying for a patent, "if it were granted once," to take up men for the King's service. Julio does not think the Duke [King] will ever grant it; so Daniel, who had lost

his patent on account of *Eastward Ho*, was trying, through the Queen's influence, to get another, and did get it, though not till 1615. Once more, in iv. 2, Julio and Aminter have received only 50 crowns out of the 200 allowed for them by the Duke [King], and therefore they "acquaint the world with his coward business." Daniel, 24th Feb. 1605, had received £20 for two plays acted before the Court. He had, if my interpretation be right, only handed over £5 of this sum to the players by May, when this play was acted. I have no space to dwell on the allusions to Harrington's *A-jax*, Middleton's *Trick to catch the old one*, Jonson's *Fox*, the "Dargison" ballad, &c., but must notice that in the Induction the time of performance is indicated as about 3.30 to 5.30 P.M., and that the custom of leaving before the end of the play is deprecated.

24. *Law tricks*, or *Who would have thought it?* was also acted by the children of the Revels (at Blackfriars, of course). The date is probably 1606. "Justice Slender" is mentioned, i. 1.; and in iii. 1 it appears that () was an indication of "horns," just as V is known to be.

25. *The travels of the three English Brothers* (with W. Rowley and Wilkins) was acted by the Queen's men June 1607. See Wilkins.

26. *Humour out of Breath* was acted by the children of the King's Revels. It was written in conjunction with another author. "Had it been all of one man's getting," says the Address to Signior Nobody, which was written by Day. *Nobody and Somebody* (Heywood's version) was published in March 1606. I think Day wrote the Anthonio, Hermia, and Lucida scenes, i. 2, iii. 2, iv. 1, v. 2 (part). The date is c. 1607-8, Christmas, but the indications are very slight. The main one is the fact that it must be a Christmas, ii. 1; and the "last great frost," iii. 4, must,

for the joke' sake, have been existing or recent. There was no great frost between 1598 and that from Dec. 1607 to Feb. 1608. The King's Revels children are only known in 1607 and 1608.

There is here a large gap in Day's theatrical career (compare Dekker), but he seems to have had other employment. On 7th Aug. 1610 *The Mad Pranks of Merry Moll* [Cut-purse] of the *Bankside*, "with her walks in man's apparel, and to what purpose" (a prose story, not a play), was entered S. R. for H. Gosson. The next four of his plays will be more conveniently treated under Dekker, *q.v.*; they are:—

27. *The Life and Death of Gay Earl of Warwick*, S. R. 15th Jan. 1620 (with Dekker).

28. *The Bellman of Paris*, a French Tragedy, licensed for the Prince's men at the Red Bull 30th July 1623 (with Dekker).

29. *Come see a Wonder* [*The Wonder of a Kingdom*], licensed for a company of strangers at the Red Bull 18th Sept. 1623 (with Dekker).

30. *The Noble Spanish Soldier* (with Dekker?). See *The Spanish Fig*.

31. *The Maiden's Holiday*, the MS. of which was destroyed by Warburton's servant, was entered S. R. 8th April 1654 as by Marlow and Day. Compare *Lust's Dominion*, also attributed to Marlow.

32. *The Parliament of Bees*, by John Day, "sometime student of Caius College, Cambridge," was published for William Lee, 1641. This was posthumous, for Tatham, in his *Fancy's Theatre*, S. R. 15th Oct. 1640, had published an elegy on Day. Day, however, had prepared it for the press. We may, then, place his decease as c. Sept. 1640. This "mask" has, in Mr. Bullen's edition, been so care-

lessly arranged, and it is so important in relation to the authorship of the Dekker plays, that I must dwell on it more than I should otherwise think needful. It is arranged in 12 characters. In 1 *char.* *Prorex* the speakers are: *a.* Prorex, *b.* Economicus, *c.* Aulicus, *d.* Martio, *e.* Dicastes, *f.* Villicus. In an earlier version, Lansdown MS. 725, which I will distinguish as containing 12 *colloquies*, and note in parentheses, these are (1 *coll.*, *Master Bee*: *a.* Master Bee, *b.* Steward, *c.* Controller, *d.* General, *e.* Attorney, *f.* Bailiff). In 2 *char.*, *Eleemosynus*, the speakers are: *a.* Eleemosynus, *b.c.* Cordato (2 *coll.*, *The Hospitable Bee*: *a.* Russet Bee, *b.* Cordato, *c.* Fidetto); 2*a* is the same character as 1*f*. In *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, from which this character is taken, the speakers are: 2*a.* Gentili, 2*b.* Philippo, 2*c.* Martinelli. In 3 *char.*, *Thraso* or *Polypragmus*, we have: *a.* Polypragmus, *b.* Servant (3 *coll.*, *The Plush Bee*: *a.* Plush Bee, *b.* Servant). In *The Wonder of a Kingdom* these are: 3*a.* Torrenti, 3*b.* Gallant. In 4 *char.*, *a.* is Don Cockadillio (in Mr. Bullen's reprint "Donne. Cockadillio"), *b.* Armiger, *c.* Prorex (4 *coll.*: *a.* Chamber Bee, *b.* Field Bee, *c.* Master Bee. These speakers appear in *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, from which this character is taken, as: 4*a.* Cockadillio, 4*b.* Baltazar. In 5 *char.*, *Poetaster*: *a.* Gnatho, *b.* Iltriste, *c.* Poetaster (5 *coll.*, *The Poetical Bee*: *a.* Servant, *b.* Stuprata, *c.* Poetaster). In *The Noble Soldier*: 5*a.* Cornego, 5*b.* O Noelia, 5*c.* Poet. In 6 *char.*, *Rivalis*: *a.* Arethusa, *b.* Ulania (7 *coll.*, *a.* Stuprata disguised, *b.* Rivalis). In 7 *char.*, *Parsimonious*: *a.* Parsimonious, *b.* Acolastes (6 *coll.*, *The Thrifty Bee*: *a.* Thrifty Bee, *b.* Prodigal). In *The Noble Soldier*: 7*a.* Nicoletti, 7*b.* Torrenti. In 8 *char.*, *Inamaratho*: *a.* Chariolus (Inamaratho or Meletus), *b.* Arethusa (10 *coll.*, *a.* Relictus, *b.* Stuprata, as in 6 *char.*). In 9 *char.*, *Pharmacopolis*: *a.* Senilis, *b.* Steward, *c.* Pharmacopolis (9 *coll.*, *The Quacksalving Bee*:

a. Law Bee, *b.* Steward, *c.* Quacksalving Bee). In *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, 9*a.* is Gentili, 9*b.* Servant, 9*c.* Apothecary. In 10 *char.*, *Fenerator*: *a.* Dicastes, *b.* Servitor, *c.* Fenerator, *d.* Impotens (8 *coll.*, *The Usuring Bee*: *a.* Russet Bee, *b.* Servitor, *c.* Hornet, *d.* Lame Bee). In *The Wonder of a Kingdom*: 10*a.* Gentili, 10*b.* Steward, 10*c.* Broker, 10*d.* Lame Soldier. 11 *char.* (*coll.*), *Oberon in Progress*: *a.* Oberon, *b.* Agricola, *c.* Pastoralis, *d.* Flora, *e.* Vintager. 12 *char.* (*coll.*): *a.* Oberon, *b.* Fairies, *c.* Master Bee or Prorex, *d.* Vespa, *e.* Hornet, *f.* Humble Bee, *g.* Fucus or Drone. The personages in 1 *char.* are evidently reproduced later on; Martio in Armiger, Œconomicus in Senilis, Aulicus in Parsimonious, Dicastes in the Russet Bee, Villicus in Eleemosynus, the Hornet in Fenerator.

That this mask dates in 1640, and not in 1607 (although Mr. E. W. Gosse "remembers reading *The Bees* in a quarto of early date, which he found, after a personal search, in the King's Library in the British Museum," where no earlier copy than that of 1641 ever was or could have been, is clear from the dedication to William Austin in the Lansdown MS., which refers to a previous dedication to him, viz., that of the *Peregrinatio*, in which Day mentions Austin's "serious endeavours," that is, his *Meditations* and *Hæc Homo*, published in 1635 and 1637. Day's dedication to him was probably written c. 1639, and not being accepted, was transferred to Mr. George Butler when *The Bees* was published. Moreover, in *char.* 4 there are allusions to *The Whore* "new vamt" (Sept. 1639), and Taylor's *Praise of the Needle* (1640). The mask was founded on two plays (for which see under Dekker), with the addition of the framework in 1, 11, 12 *char.*, and an enlargement of the character of Stuprata in 6, 8 *char.*, which was afterwards separated with a new name, Arethusa. This constitutes a distinct claim

by Day to part authorship in these plays. Much of *The Bees* is evidently topical and political, and would repay research for the allusions contained in it. I have small doubt that the *Fenerator*, or *Usuring Broker*, is sketched from Henslow as a model.

The Peregrinatio Scholastica, or *Learning's Pilgrimage*, was evidently written just before *The Bees*, which alludes to it in the "Truth and Time" bit near the end. It contains an allegorical account of Day's early career, but is not definite enough to enable me to say more than that Day, who had been devoted to play-writing under Elizabeth and James, found a more congenial and higher calling in Charles' time. Did he "marry Latria," *i.e.*, take orders?

DEKKER, THOMAS. (Plays and Entertainments.)

PLAYS.

26. ? *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, 1600 printed and sold by Valentine Sims, 1610, 1618, 1631, 1657.

32. 1600, Feb. 20, for William Aspley. *Old Fortunatus in his new livery*, C., 1600.

31. 1600, Mar. 28, for Cuthbert Burby. *Patient Grisell*, C., 1603.

40. 1600, Aug. 11, for Thomas Pavier. *Captain Thomas Stukely*, H., 1605.

41. 1601, Nov. 11, for John Barnes. *The Untrussing of the Humorous Poets*, 1602.

56. 1604, Nov. 9, for Thomas Man, junr. *The humours of the Patient Man, the Longing Wife, and the Honest Whore*, C., 1604, 1605, 1615, 1616, 1635.

59. 1607, April 20, for N. Butter and J. Trundell. *The Whore of Babylon*, H., 1607.

55. 1607, Aug. 6, for George Elde. *Northward Ho*, C., 1607.

54. *Westward Ho*, C., 1607, sold by J. Hodgets.
 51, 52. *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, H., 1607, by E. A[lldes], for T. Archer, 1612.
 58. *The Roaring Girl*, C., 1611, for Thomas Archer.
 60. *If it be not good, &c.*, 1612, by J. Trundell for E. Marchant.
 62. 1621, Dec. 7, for Thomas Jones. *The Virgin Martyr*, T., 1622, 1651, 1661.
 57. 1630, June 29, for Nathaniel Butter. 2. *Honest Whore*, C., 1630; but also entered 1608, April 29, for T. Man, junr., as 2. *Converted Courtesan*, or 2. *Honest Whore*.
 61. 1630, Nov. 8, for Henry Seile. *Match me in London*, T. C., 1631.
 67. 1631, May 16, for John Jackman. *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, C., 1636.
 42. 1631, May 16, for John Jackman. *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, 1634.
 68. *The Sun's Darling*. A moral mask, 1656. By J. Bell for A. Pennycuicke.
 65. *The Witch of Edmonton*, T. C., 1658. By J. Cottrell for E. Blackmore.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

- Dekker's *Device*, 1603. See 53.
 53. 1604, April 2, for Thomas Man, junr. *The Magnificent Entertainment on James' Passage through London*, 1604 (three editions, one printed at Edinburgh).

PAGEANTS.

63. 1612, Oct. 21, for Nicholas Okes. *Troia Nova Triumphans*, 1612. "To be printed when it is further authorized."

72. *Britannia's Honor*, by Nicholas Okes and John Norton, 1628.

73. *London's Tempe*, n.d. [1629].

NON-DRAMATIC WORKS.

1598, Jan. 5, for Thomas Purfoot, senr., and Thomas Purfoot, junr. *The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, son of Vespasian*: in English metre. Published for Henry Tomes as *Canaan's Calamity, Jerusalem's Misery, and England's Mirror*, 1598, 1604, 1617, 1618, 1625. Dedicated to Richard Kingsmill, Esq.

The Wonderful Year, 1603, by T. Creede. Dedicated to M. Cuthbert Thoresby, Water-bailiff. On the plague in London, with addition of tales.

The Bachelor's Banquet, 1603, by T. C[reede]; sold by T. Pavier; 1604; 1630; 1660. On the humours of Women.

1603, Oct. 29, for J. Roberts. Verses prefixed to *The Fasting of a Maiden of Confolens*, 1604.

1605, Dec. 9, for J. Trundel and E. Edgar. *The Duello. A Papist in arms . . . encountred by the Protestant. . . .* Published 1606 by T. C[reede]. Sold by J. Hodgets with "*The double P. P.*" instead of *The Duello* as title.

1606, Jan. 15, for N. Butter. *The Return of the Knight of the Post from Hell with the Devil's answer to Piers Penniless' supplication*. "Provided that he get further authority for it before it be printed." This was not got, and the book was apparently re-entered;—

1606, Jan. 25, for W. Ferbrand. *The Devil's let loose*. Both entries were cancelled, Feb. 17, by order of the Court, but

News from Hell brought by the Devil's Carrier (which I

take to be a third title to the same book) was printed by R. B. for W. Ferbrand 1606, and reprinted with a fourth title as

A Knight's conjuring, by T. C[reede] for N. Barley, 1607.

1606, Oct. 6, for N. Butter. *The 7 Deadly Sins of London*, &c., 1606, n.d.

1607, Oct. 6, for N. Butter. *Jests of Cock Watt to make you merry*, &c., 1607. Written by T. D[ekker] and G. Wilkins.

1607, Nov. 3, for J. Trundel. *The Dead Term*. 1608, for J. Hodgetts. A dialogue between London and Westminster.

1608, Mar. 14, for N. Butter. *The Bellman of London*, &c., 1608 (thrice). Founded on *The Groundwork of Coney-catching*, 1592, by J. Danter for W. Barley; which I believe to have been written by Dekker. It is largely taken from Harman's *Caveat for Coursitors*, 1567.

1608, July 7, for Laurence Lyle. *The Raven's Almanac, Foretelling of a Plague, Famine, and Civil War* in 1609, "this present year" 1609, by E. A[lldes] for T. Archer.

1608, Oct. 25, for John Bushby. *Lanthorn and Candle-lights*, or the second part of *The Bellman*. 1609, "*The Bellman's second Night walk*" (twice); 1612, with additions called "O per se O;" 1616, *Villanies discovered*, &c;" 1620; 1632, "*English Villanies six several times pressed to death*, &c.;" 1638, "seven times pressed;" 1640, "seven times;" 1648, "eight times." In the dedication printed in 1638 Dekker mentions his "threescore years." I have no doubt that this dedication belongs to the 1632 edition, when the title was last changed. But I have not met with this edition. This would date Dekker's birth c. 1567-72.

An answer to this book, *Martin Markall his defence*, was entered S. R. 1610, Mar. 31.

Work for Armourers, &c., 1609, for N. Butter.

Four birds of Noah's Ark: The Dove, The Eagle, The Pelican, The Phoenix, 1609, for N. Butter.

The Gull's Hornbook, 1609, for R. S.

1611, Oct. 4, verses prefixed to Taylor's *Sculler*.

The next four were written in prison, 1613-19.

1613, Jan. 21, for Joseph Hunt. *A strange Horse race* (with the Catchpoll's mask, the Bankrout's Banquet, and the Devil's will, 1613). Dedicated to T. Walthal, Esq.

1615, Nov. 29, for John Trundle. *The Artillery Garden*, a poem, 1616.

1618, Jan. 22, for Laurence Lisle. *Dick Diver-Deepes*, or *The Owl's Almanac*, 1618 (twice), with the second title only.

1619, Oct. 11 (inserted after July 8), for Nicholas Okes. *Dekker, his Dream*, 1620. In the Dedication to Endymion Porter he speaks of having been in prison 7 years.

A Rod for Runaways, for J. Trundle, 1625 [c. June-Dec.], on the players and others leaving London in the plague-time. Query plagiarized from *The Whipping of Runaways*, by Henry Petowe 1603; S. R. 1603, Nov. [Dec.] 26.

Wars, Wars, Wars, for J. G., 1628. Dedicated to Sir Hugh Hammersley, Lord Mayor.

1630, for Edward Blackmore. *Penny wise, Pound foolish*, by Thomas Decker.

1632, Mar. 24. Verses prefixed to Brome's *Northern Lass*. This is the latest certain note of Dekker's being alive.

A spurious edition of *English Villanies* was issued in 1637. Dekker must have been then dead.

Thomas Dekker was born probably c. 1567; wrote plays

for the Admiral's company 1588-1604; was imprisoned in the Counter, and released by the advance of £2 by Henslow 1598, Feb. 4; was arrested by the Chamberlain's men, and discharged on Henslow's advancing £3, 10s., 1599, Jan. 30, to be repaid on Feb. 28. He and Chettle, April 7, 16, wrote then *Troilus and Cressida*, which, I think, contained satire on the Chamberlain's men. The title was changed to *Agamemnon*, and it was licensed June 3 [for publication]. He borrowed £1 of Henslow, 1599, Aug. 1. During the 1603 plague he wrote pamphlets and prepared his Entertainment. In 1604, Nov., he left the Prince's men for the Queen's. From 1605, Dec. 5, to 1609 he wrote pamphlets. In 1610, after the plague, he again wrote plays for the Queen's men, and in 1612 the Mayor's pageant. From 1613 to 1619 he wrote pamphlets in prison in the King's Bench; and while there addressed Alleyn in verse "in praise of charity," a eulogium of "God's gift" at Dulwich (Collier's *Alleyn*, p. 131). On his release he renewed his play-writing in 1620-24 for the Revels, Prince Charles', Lady Elizabeth's, a strange company, and the Palsgrave's—in fact, for any one that would employ him. In 1625, 1628, 1630 more pamphlets, varied by Mayors' pageants in 1627, 1628, 1629, during which time he was City poet. At last came the final resource, the publication of old plays not entirely his in 1631; and before these could be issued he died, almost certainly in 1632. The saddest story in all this book.

A Thomas Dekker, supposed to be the poet's father, was buried in St. Saviour's, Southwark, 1594; and his widow lived in Maid Lane, Southwark, 1596. At St. Giles, Cripplegate, Dorcas, daughter of Thomas Dycker, gent., was christened 1594, Oct. 27; Anne, daughter of Thomas Decker, yeoman, christened 1602, Oct. 14; Elizabeth,

daughter of Thomas Dekker, buried 1598; and at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, a son of Thomas Dekker was buried 1598, April 19. The name was too common for us to set much value on these extracts. It is doubtful still whether Dekker married or no. For his portrait see the rough woodcut prefixed to *Dekker, his Dream*.

OLD PLAYS REVIVED FOR THE ADMIRAL'S MEN, 1594-1596,
AT THE ROSE. WRITTEN BEFORE 1592.

Among the old plays of 1588-1592 revived by this company, the following were, in my opinion, probably written by Dekker wholly or in part:—

1. *Philippo and Hypolito*, revived 1594, July 9. See Massinger.
2. *Doctor Faustus*, revived 1594, Sept. 30. See Marlow.
3. *The French Doctor*, revived 1594, Oct. 18. Probably the same as Dekker's *Jew of Venice*, entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9. In the German version of *The Righteous Judgment of a Girl Graduate*, or *The Jew of Venice*, certainly, I think, a rough traduction of Dekker's play, the Prince disguises himself as a celebrated French Doctor. The Jew is called Joseph or Barabbas as in Marlow's *Jew of Malta*; and the plot is, for the Shylock part only, that of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, also called *The Jew of Venice*. The objection that Silvayn's *Orator* was not published till 1596 is refuted by the S. R. entry of 1590 (see Monday); the supposed allusion to the battle of 1605 may refer to the "victories by Gilan and Azerbijan over the Turks" in 1590 (Engl. Cyc., *Abbas the Great*); and as to the filth of this play making its ascription to Dekker disrespectful to his memory (see Furness, *Merchant of Venice*, p. 331), I would suggest that a reading of *The Virgin Martyr* will dispose of this objection.

4. *Dioclesian*, revived 1594, Nov. 16. See Massinger, *Virgin Martyr*, and 62 below.

5. *Antonio and Valea*, revived 1595, June 20. See Massinger.

6. The first part of *Fortunatus*, revived 1596, Feb. 3. See below.

Four of these appear in the German plays derived from the English, as *Doctor Faust*, *Fortunatus*, *The Jew of Venice*, and *The Martyr Dorothea*. See my *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 308.

For *The Set at Maw*, 1594, Dec. 14, and *The Mack*, 1595, Feb. 21 (both new plays), see further on, 61, 67.

NEW PLAYS FOR THE ADMIRAL'S MEN AT THE ROSE,
1598-1600.

1598, Jan. 8. Dekker sold them "a book," i.e., an old play, for 20s.

7. 1598, Jan. 15. *Phaeton*. See below, 1600, Dec.; see also *The Sun's Darling*.

8. 1598, Mar. 1. *The Triplicity (or Triangle) of Cuckolds*.

Dekker, hitherto a sole author (except in *Faustus*), now appears chiefly as a coadjutor.

9. 1598, c. Mar. 20. *The famous Wars of Henry 1 and the Prince of Wales*. With Chettle and Drayton. On Mar. 13 Chettle and Drayton had received £2 for a play, "wherein is the part of a *Welshman* written," and "promised to deliver it on the xx day next following." Finding their work in arrear, they seem to have applied to Dekker for help. It was read at the Sun in New Fish Street, and the company spent 5s. [for hire of the room, I suppose], and 5s. in "good cheer." There was also a private

performance in Fleet Street, when the carman had 3s. "for carrying and bringing of the stuff back again, and then our stuff was lost." This play may be *The Welshman's prize* of Henslow's inventory.

10. 1598, Mar. 25, 30. 1 *Godwin and his three sons*. With Chettle, Drayton, Wilson.

11. 1598, Mar. 28; April 7. *Piers of Exton*. With Chettle, Drayton, Wilson.

12. 1598, April [May] 6; June 6, 10. 2 *Godwin*. With Chettle, Drayton, Wilson.

13. 1598, May () 22. 1 *Black Batman of the North*. With Chettle, Drayton, Wilson.

14. 1598, June 31 [30]; July 9, 10. *The Madman's Morris*. With Drayton, Wilson.

15. 1598, July 17, 26, 27, 28. *Hannibal and Hermes*, or [1] *Worse afeared than hurt*. With Drayton, Wilson.

16. 1598, July 28; Aug. 8, 10. *Piers of Winchester*. With Drayton, Wilson.

17. 1598, Aug. 19, 24. *Chance Medley*. Either Dekker or Chettle, with Drayton, Monday, Wilson. But as Dekker nowhere else appears as writing with Monday, the insertion of his name (replaced by Chettle in the latter part of the entry) seems to be a mistake.

18. 1598, Aug. 30, [Sept.] 4. [2] *Worse afeared than hurt*. With Drayton.

19. 1598, Sept. 29. 1 *Civil Wars in France*. With Drayton.

20. 1598, Oct. 16, 20. *Connan Prince of Cornwall*. With Drayton.

21. 1598, Nov. 3. 2 *Civil Wars in France*. With Drayton.

22. 1598, Nov. 18; Dec. 30. 3 *Civil Wars in France*. With Drayton.

23. 1599, Jan. 20. The first introduction of *The Civil Wars in France*.

24. 1599, April 7, 16. *Troilus and Cressida*; May 26, 30. *Agamemnon* (the same play: both titles are given in 26th May entry). With Chettle. The authors got £8, 15s. for this play, an unusually large sum. It was licensed June 3 [for the press]. Was it published? If so, its recovery would be of the greatest interest in connexion with Shakespeare.

25. 1599, May 2. *Orestes fures* (furious).

26. 1599, July 15. *The Gentle Craft* (*The Shoemaker's Holiday*) was bought by Henslow for £3. This form of entry is only used in the *Diary* of old plays, and by no means implies authorship on the part of the seller. Slaughter, Dutton, and others have been repeatedly promoted from actors to authors through mistaken interpretation of such entries. This play was published in 1600 anonymously (which is not the case with any play written by Dekker alone), in consequence of its having been selected for performance at Court 1600, Jan. 1. It was not entered S. R., but was doubtless one of the two books licensed by the Master of the Revels 1599, Dec. 19; *Look about you* being the other. The arrangements for the Court plays this year were made before Dec. 12. I do not believe the play to be Dekker's. I think it much more likely that it had been entrusted to him by some other writer to sell it to Henslow. He certainly would not have accepted £3 for a new play of his own at this time, nor have kept an old one longer than he could help. The Dutch in the play is remarkable, only to be paralleled by the German in *Alphonsus of Germany*. There are reminiscences of other plays; e.g., "We are all mortal" and "All flesh is grass," from *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, and "Here sit thou down upon this flowery

bank," Sc. 2. Compare *Midsummer Night's Dream*, iv. 1. 1. The latest reference I find is to plays of 1597, and this, I believe, is the original date of this comedy. Compare the references to the French, especially at the end, which suit this date. The humour of nicknaming from names of characters or plays adopted by Eyre is identical with that of Tucca in *The Poetaster*; and had Dekker written the present play, he would, I think, have referred to Eyre, not to Captain Hannam, as its originator. The actor list published by Dramaticus for the Shak. Soc. *Papers*, iv. 110, with Day, Flower, and Wilson as actors, is doubtless a forgery.

27. 1599, July 24; Aug. 23, 25; Oct. 14. *The Stepmother's Tragedy*. With Chettle.

28. 1599, Aug. 1. *Bear a Brain*, or *Better Late than Never*. Sold to Henslow for £2. Another case of an old play of doubtful authorship. Can it be that this title was discarded for *Look about you*, which I have attributed to Wadeson? See Sc. 10, where "bear a brain" still remains, though apparently altered elsewhere.

29. 1599, Aug. 10; Sept. 2. *Page of Plymouth*. With Jonson. A murder play. £8.

30. 1599, Sept. 3, 15, 16, 27. *Robert 2, King of Scots*, T. With Chettle, Jonson, and "other Gentleman" of name apparently then unknown to Henslow. Query Wadeson.

31. 1599, Oct. [16]; Dec. 19, 26, 28, 29. *Patient Grisell*. With Chettle, Haughton. The £6 entry, Dec. 26, is, I think, an inclusive one. If not, they received the unprecedented payment from Henslow of 10 guineas. The maximum elsewhere in the *Diary* is the £8, 15s. for *Troilus and Cressida*. See Haughton.

32. 1599, Nov. 9, 24, 30. *The whole History of Fortunatus*. £6. Nov. 31 (*sic*), alterations £1; and Dec. 12 £2 "for the end for the Court," where it was acted at

Christmas. Published as *The Pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus*. This play is important as showing the estimation in which Dekker was then held. He was paid as if for a new play; yet Sc. 1-6 are manifestly the old play acted 1596, only Sc. 7-12 forming the "new addition" mentioned in Sc. 6. The date of writing the first part is fixed as 1590 by Sc. 1, in which Fortunatus speaks "no language but *An Almond for Parrat and Crack me this Nut*." The allusions to Lyly and his imitators are too minute and numerous to be worked out here.

33. 1600, Jan. 18, 30. *Truth's Supplication to Candlelight*. See below, *The Whore of Babylon*, 59.

34. 1600, Feb. 13. *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*. With Day, Haughton. See Haughton.

35. 1600, Mar. 1, 2, 8. *The Seven Wise Masters*. With Chettle, Day, Haughton.

36. 1600 [April 27]; May 10, 14. *The Golden Ass, Cupid and Psyche*. With Chettle, Day. The subject is the same as that of Heywood's *Love's Mistress*.

37. 1600, June 3, 14. 1 *Fair Constance of Rome*. With Drayton, Hathway, Monday. £5, 9s. The 11s. (to make up the usual £6) were retained for Wilson, who aided in this play. See *Variorum*, xxi. 395, where xls. is a misprint for xis. Hence we learn that absence of authors' names in Henslow is not absolute proof of absence of co-operation.

NEW PLAYS FOR THE ADMIRAL'S MEN AT THE FORTUNE, 1600-1601.

38. 1600, Sept. 6. "*Forteon tenes*," i.e. *Fortune's Tennis*; certainly not *Fortunatus*: or possibly *Hortenzo's Tennis*, cf. *Lust's Dominion*, v. 5.

7, 1600, Dec. To Decker, "for his pains in *Phaeton*," 10s., Dec. 14. "For altering of *Phaeton* for the Court," 30s., Dec. 22. This was the play written originally 1598. Presented at Court; probably 1600, Dec. 28.

39. 1601, April 18; May 16, 22. *King Sebastian of Portugal*. With Chettle. Founded on Monday's *Don Sebastian of Portugal*, S. R. 1601, Mar. 30, translated from the French, and *ballad* of the same, S. R. 1601, April 12.

PLAYS ACTED AT PAUL'S AND THE GLOBE, 1601.

40. 1596, Dec. 11. *Stewtley*. S. R. 1600, Aug. 11, The Famous History of *The Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukeley*, "with his marriage to Alderman Curteis' daughter, and valiant ending of his life at the Battle of Alcazar." As it hath been acted. This play is evidently by three authors. Act v. I think by Peele: the Alcazar part. It was meant to contain one act in London, one in Ireland, one in Portugal, one in Rome, and one in Africa, but the Rome part has been clumsily cut out, and there are further alterations in the play as published. Sc. 5, in which the buckler-maker appears as Thump instead of Blunt, and in which Curtis does not use his characteristic "bones a dod," is an insertion; so is Sc. 7*b*, an alternative scene for 7*a*, put in for the sake of the Irish dialect; while the varied spellings of Aphrick, Africa; Hernandes, Hernando, Herando; Botellio, Botella; Danulo, Davila, show two hands concerned in the alteration. The altered play, dating probably 1600, was not made for the Admiral's men—their name would have appeared in the title—but more likely for the Paul's boys.

All this is explained in *Satiromastix*, Sc. 4, where Horace (Jonson) says Fannius (Dekker, Crispinus', *i.e.* Marston's

play-dresser), "to make the Muses believe their subjects' ears were starved, and that there was a dearth of poesy, cut an innocent Moor i' th' middle to serve him in twice, and when he had done made Paul's work of it." Dekker had patched up the play with half of one by Peele on the Moor Mahomet, and then published it. *Satiromastix* must, then, date after Aug. 11.

41. *Satiromastix*, or *The untrussing of the Humorous Poet*, was acted 1601, c. Sept., publicly by the Chamberlain's servants, privately by the Paul's boys. This is Dekker's answer to Jonson's *Poetaster*. It is too crowded with personal allusions, some of which are still unexplained, to bear analysis here. It must be studied as a whole. Compare Jonson and Marston.

PLAYS FOR THE ADMIRAL'S MEN, 1602.

42. 1602, Jan. 6. *The Spanish Fig*. Certainly, I think, the same play as *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, entered S. R. 1631 for John Jackman, as by Thomas Decker, along with *The Wonder of a Kingdom*; re-entered 1633 for N. Vavasor, and published 1634, after Dekker's death, as *The Spanish Soldier*, by S[amuel] R[owley]. In it the King is poisoned with a Spanish fig. It is partly by Day; i. 2*b*; ii. 1, 2; iii. 2; iv. 1; v. 1, 2, 4 (part). This part includes Signor No (Roderigo in the rest of the play), Carlo, Alonzo (Alba), Cornego, and Juanna. Cf. Day, *The Parliament of Bees*. The characters mentioned are omitted in the *Dram. Pers.* list. I think the play is allegorical, the King being Philip 2; the Queen, his Italian possessions; and O Nœlia, Ireland. The allusion to Butter's *Corantos* would indicate for Day's share a date c. 1625. I think the original play was written by Dekker and (?) S. Rowley, and that after

Dekker's death Rowley reclaimed it. There are allusions in it to *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Look about you*, &c.; but the most important is, as I think, "of a new play; if it ends well, All's well," v. 4. This, written in Jan. 1602, gives 1601 as the date of Shakespeare's *All's Well*. Dekker certainly wrote iii. 3.

43. 1602, Jan. 12. Prologue and Epilogue to "*Pone-sciones Pillet*" (Pontius Pilate), 10s. Probably an old play revived.

44. 1602, Jan. 16; Nov. 3; Dec. 4. For altering *Tasso*[*'s Melancholy*], £4. An old play of 1594, Aug. 11, perhaps originally by Dekker.

45. 1602, May 5. *Jephtha*. With Monday. This was rehearsed at the Tavern c. May 16.

46. 1602, May 22. *Cæsar's Fall*. By Drayton, Middleton, Monday, Webster, and "the rest." I think "the rest" means Dekker. See the next entry.

47. 1602, May 29. *Two "harpes."* By Drayton, Middleton, Monday, Webster, and Dekker.

48. 1602, July 19, 31. *A medicine for a curst wife*. But see below.

PLAYS FOR WORCESTER'S MEN AT THE ROSE, 1602.

49. 1602, Aug. 17, Sept. 7. Additions to [2. *Sir John*] *Oldcastle*. Dekker was not one of the original authors.

50. 1602, Aug. 27, Sept. 1, 2. *A medicine for a curst wife*. £6 in full. Sept. 27, 10s. "over above his price." The Admiral's men had paid £4 for this play "in earnest." Henslow has other double entries of this kind. One thing is certain, Dekker didn't get 10 guineas, if Henslow did.

51., 1602, Oct. 15, 21. 1. *Lady Jane*. With Heywood, Smith, Webster, £8.

52. 1602, Oct. 27. 2. *Lady Jane*. The part of these two plays contributed by Dekker and Webster was published 1607 as *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, played by the Queen's men, who had been Worcester's. See Webster.

52*. 1602, Nov. 2, 3, 26. *Christmas comes but once a year*. With Chettle, Heywood, Webster.

ENTERTAINMENT, 1604.

53. 1604, Mar. 15. W. C. Hazlitt, in his *Dictionary*, mentions as a separate work Dekker's *Device* (projected but not published), that should have served at His Majesty's first access to London, 1603; but this seems to be the same as *The Magnificent Entertainment* "given to King James, Queen Anne, his wife, and Henry Frederick, the Prince, upon the day of his Majesty's Triumphant Passage (from the Tower)" through his Honorable City (and chamber) of London, being the 15th of March 1603; the second title of which is *A Device*, "projected down, but till now not published, that should have served at his Majesty's first access to the City." As this was not entered S. R. till 1604, April 2, it is hard to believe copies were printed in 1603. Hazlitt does not say where such copies are to be found. There were seven pageants, the first and last by Jonson, *q.v.*, the second and third by the Italians and Dutch, the three others by Dekker. Middleton wrote a speech in the sixth. Jonson's first pageant replaced one of Dekker's. The speakers in Jonson's part were Alleyn, of the Prince's company (Thamesis), and a Queen's Revels boy (Genius); in Dekker's and Middleton's, Paul's boys under Mulcaster. Jonson was the first to publish his part of *The Entertainment* by itself, S. R., Mar. 19. Evidently he and Dekker dis-

agreed on this matter. Dekker refers to Jonson's "weapons, borrowed of all the old Masters of Poesy," &c. Stephen Harrison invented the architecture.

PLAYS ACTED BY THE PAUL'S BOYS, 1604-5.

54. 1604, Nov. *Westward Ho*.

55. 1605, c. Feb. *Northward Ho*. These two plays were written in conjunction with Webster, *q.v.* Dekker's connexion with the Paul's boys, which began in 1601 with *Satiromastix*, ends here.

PLAYS ACTED BY THE PRINCE'S MEN (FORMERLY
THE ADMIRAL'S), 1604-5.

56. 1604, c. April. *The Honest Whore*, "with the Humours of the Patient Man and the Longing Wife," was written by Dekker and Middleton (Henslow, *Diary*, p. 232) as *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore*. The siege of Ostend is alluded to in iv. 1; Leap-year, when "knaves wear smocks," iv. 2. Contrary to the general opinion, I believe that Middleton wrote much of this play, viz., Sc. 2, 4-12; Dekker's share being Sc. 1, 3, 13-15. It is the last of the Shrew or wife-taming series, which included *Patient Grisell*, *A medicine for a curst wife*, *The Woman Killed with Kindness*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*. "Aloof off," Sc. 6, "subaudi," Sc. 9, &c., are Middletonian phrases. In Sc. 15 Towne, one of the Prince's men, appears as an actor. In Sc. 1 there is a parody on *Richard 3*, "Set down the body," &c., and a much more important allusion to *Othello* :—

"Thou kill'st her now again,
And art more savage than a barbarous Moor."

The Comedy of Errors is mentioned Sc. 12, and many

other plays are alluded to. In the 1635 edition this play is mentioned as acted by Queen Henrietta's players.

57. 1604. Soon after the first part. *The Second part of the Honest Whore*, &c. (with "the Comical Passages of an Italian Bridewell"). In Sc. 14, the "1600 soldiers" who went aboard scarce a year since must, I think, be the 800 "vagabonds" seized in two nights in 1603, April, and sent aboard the Dutch fleet by Cecil (*Pictorial History of England*, iii. 3); and the purging of the suburb houses, Sc. 10, is surely contemporaneous with *Measure for Measure*. There are allusions to *Othello*, *As You Like it*, *Satiromastix*, &c., but to nothing of later date than 1604. The "fireworks on lines," Sc. 4, occur continually in Dekker. This play was entered 1608, April 29, but not printed till 1630, when it was again entered.

58. c. 1604, Dec. *The Roaring Girl*, or *Moll Cutpurse* (with Middleton), "lately acted on the Fortune stage," 1611. Middleton wrote, I think, ii. 2, iv. 1, v. 2. In iv. 2 the "fireworks on lines" again appear. The original writing of this play must be after *Westward Ho*, 1604, Nov., and before St. Dunstan's Day, 19th May 1605 (see iv. 1); but it was probably not acted till 1610, when it was produced by Middleton, not by Dekker. It had been "expected long," as the Prologue (by Middleton) says. Day's prose account of Moll Cutpurse was entered S. R. 1610, Aug. 7 (cf. S. R. 1612, Feb. 18, for another narration). In the Epilogue an appearance of Moll in another play a few days hence is promised. The only other play known to me in which she appears is *Amends for Ladies*, but this is of later date, and was not acted at the Fortune. In v. 1 the Swan is mentioned as open; query in 1611, after August.

59. 1605. *The Whore of Babylon*. In Sc. 2 *The Isle*

of *Gulls* is alluded to, and that play was produced 1605, after *Northward Ho*. Dekker had left the company. He says *Lectori*, "How true Fortune's dial hath gone, whose players, like so many clocks, have struck my lines and told the world, how I have spent my hours, I am not certain, because my ears stood not within the reach of their alarums." But the play as extant was altered from an earlier version produced in Elizabeth's reign. In Sc. 10 a passage beginning how "a jury of bright stars" found the Moon that borrowed light from Elizabeth, *i.e.*, Mary of Scotland, "unworthy to shine again," goes on in allusion to Essex quite beyond the scope of the original play. All the "he's" in this passage have been changed from "she's," but clumsily, and not by Dekker, who wrote the Address without seeing the proof-sheets. Again, Sc. 5, "For let me whisper—it may not be," is a manifest interpolation. I think the original, which should occur in Henslow's *Diary*, was 33. *Truth's supplication to Candlelight*, 1600, Jan. But the title was soon altered, for among the play-title epithets applied by Tucca to Miniver in *Satiromastix*, "Whore of Babylon" is one. Note the "fireworks on lines," Sc. 5. During 1606–9 Dekker was writing prose pamphlets.

When the theatres reopened, after the long plague, in 1609, Dec., and the QUEEN'S MEN removed to the Bull, Dekker wrote for them :

60. 1610, c. Christmas. *If this be not a good play the Devil is in it*. So the running title. The title-page has *If it be not good the Devil is in it*. "A new play lately acted" by the Queen's men at the Red Bull. They accepted it when the Prince's men had rejected it at the Fortune, having already a play on *Friar Rush* (see Day). The date of writing was 1610, when Aug. 14 fell on a Tuesday, Sc. 8. In the Address Dekker refers to his

"worthy friend's" next new play, which was, beyond doubt, *The Devil's Law Case*, by Webster, 1610. Webster was the only coadjutor of Dekker in writing for Queen's men (see *Sir T. Wyatt*), and had before this written his *White Devil* for them. All the time-allusions confirm this date. The plague of 1609 is alluded to in Sc. 1; the painted giant of the Turners' show in Sc. 3; Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, 1608, in Sc. 3; Bermudas, "the isle of hogs and devils," in Sc. 14 (compare Shakespeare's *Tempest*, 1610); *Moll Cutpurse*, "late sore tormented," i.e., on the Fortune stage, 1610, in Sc. 16 (see *supra*, *The Roaring Girl*); the revival of Heywood's *Golden Age*, 1610, in Sc. 2; and Ravallac, who stabbed Henri 4 on 14th May 1610, in Sc. 16. Note the fireworks in Sc. 3, the Dekkerian lame soldier in Sc. 2, and the origin in Sc. 10 of Jonson's title, *The Devil is an Ass*. In the Induction and Sc. 10, "Fortune favours nobody but Garlick" alludes to an actor of that name who appeared on the stage with chains of garlick hung round him, mentioned also in the *The Hog hath lost his pearl, Amends for Ladies*, and *The World's Folly* (a tract by J. H., 1615). This is, of course, one of the passages inserted when the play was altered with a new Frontispiece for the Queen's men. The name Grumshall or Grumball was at the same time substituted for Lurchall in the "Frontispiece." The retention of Lurchall in the main play shows that the alteration was hurried. Compare Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*.

61. c. 1611. *Match me in London*. This play was acted at the Bull by Queen Anne's men, and afterwards at the Phoenix by the Lady Elizabeth's men, 1623, Aug. 21 (Herbert), and again ("lately," in 1630) by Queen Henrietta's. This shows the way in which Dekker's plays passed into the hands of Queen Henrietta's men, and justifies the sup-

position that *The Honest Whore*, in like manner, was revived by Queen Anne's men at the Bull. The allusions to *The Roaring Girl*, i. 2, and the 1609 expedition to Virginia, ii. 1, make likely the date here given. But, like all Dekker's plays for Queen Anne's men, this play is no new one, being pretty clearly an alteration of *The Set at Maw*, 1594, Dec. 14, an old Admiral's play. In ii. 1, "Play out our set at maw;" in iii. 2, "I called that sound card to me;" in iii. 3—

"Since we must needs be sharers [partners] use me kindly,
And play not the right citizen to undo
Your partner, who i' th' stock has more than you;"

in iv. 1, "I did but shuffle the first dealing: you cut last and dealt last; by the same token you turned up a Court card." All these allude to the Maw game, which is nearly the same as the modern Spoil Five.

62. c. 1611. *The Virgin Martyr* was probably acted by the Queen's men about this time. The Revels men had it in 1621 as reformed by Massinger, and must have inherited it from the Queen's men, I think, as there is no trace of Dekker's writing for the Revels men elsewhere, nor indeed of his writing any plays between 1611 and 1622. This also was probably an Admiral's play re-fashioned, viz., the *Diocletian* of 1594, Nov. 16, which was then an old play. On the Revels version see Massinger.

63. 1612. *Troia Nova Triumphans; London Triumphant*: the 1612 pageant for Sir John Swinerton's Mayoralty. A ship laden with wine was a principal part of this Show, and I fancy this Ship was that afterwards exhibited on the Fortune stage, which has so troubled the stage historians, who insist on its being the name of a play.

64. *The life and death of Guy of Warwick*, T. H., was entered S. R. for J. Trundle, 1620, Jan. 19, as by John Day and Thomas Dekker. *Guy Earl of Warwick*, by B[en] J[onson], was printed 1661; but I have not met with it. Taylor, the Water poet, in his *Penniless Pilgrimage*, 1618, speaks of this play as acted by Derby's men.

PLAYS, 1622-4.

65. 1622, *The Witch of Edmonton*. With Ford and Rowley. See Ford. Acted by the Princess Elizabeth's men.

66. 1623, July 30. *The Bellman of Paris*. With Day. Acted by Prince Charles's men at the Bull.

67. 1623, Sept. 18. *Come see a Wonder*, by John Day, was licensed for a company of strangers at the Bull. See my *History of the Stage*, p. 302. This was almost certainly *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, in which Day wrote the Gentili and Torrenti parts, i. 4, iii. 1, iv. 2, afterwards reclaimed by him in *The Parliament of Bees*. Gentili's "gift to charity" is certainly Alleyn's "God's gift" at Dulwich: compare the title-page, *Quod non dant proceres dabit Histrio*. Alteration of a preceding version is shown by the omission of Montinelli, Buzzardo, Steward, Brother, Gallant, Apothecary, Soldier, Broker, Goldsmith (all Day's characters), in the *Dram. Pers.* Mutio, Philippo, and Tornelli are also from his hand. In i. 1, "We shall your will—we'll hence," and in v. 2, "No more—nobly spoke," are insertions by Day. The original Dekker play was a "Card play" (see the last nine lines), probably *The Mack*, an Admiral's play of 1595, Feb. 21, which, like the others noticed above, may have been revived at the Bull. Compare *Match me in London*.

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|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 68. 1624, Mar. 3. | <i>The Sun's Darling.</i> | } With Ford. See Ford. |
| 69. 1624, Oct. 22. | <i>The Fairy Knight.</i> | |
| 70. 1624, Oct. 24. | <i>The Bristol Merchant.</i> | |

PAGEANTS, 1627-9.

71. 1627, Dekker wrote the *pageant* for the Mayoralty of H. Hamerton. Not extant.

72. 1628, *Britannia's Honor*, for R. Deane's Mayoralty (Skinner's company). The "works" by Gerard Christmas and his son John.

73. 1629, *London's Tempe*, or *The Field of Happiness* (Le Beau Champ, Camp-Bel), for J. Campbell's Mayoralty (Ironmongers' Company). The works by Gerard Christmas.

PLAYS ENTERED S. R. FOR H. MOSELEY.

74. *Gustavus King of Swedland*, entered 1660, June 29.

75. *The tale of Jocundo and Astolpho*, 1660, June 29.

The MSS. of both these were destroyed by Warburton's servant.

76. *The Jew of Venice*, 1653, Sept. 9.

DENHAM, Sir JOHN. (Play.)

1. *The Sophy*. Fol. 1642, 1671.

This play was acted in 1641 at Blackfriars by the King's men. It is founded on a story in Herbert's *Travels*.

Of Denham as a poet this is not the place to speak.

DRAYTON, MICHAEL. (Playwright and Poet.)

20. 1600, Aug. 11, for T. Pavier. 1. *Sir John Oldcastle*, Lord Cobham, H., 1600, "by William Shakespeare;" 1600, with no name of author.

The following have been more or less conjecturally ascribed to him by me:—

24. 1602, Aug. 11, for W. Cotton. *The life and death of the Lord Cromwell*, C. H., 1602, "by W. S." for W. Jones; 1613, by T. Snodham.

28. *The London Prodigal*, C., 1605, by T. C[reede] for N. Butter; "by William Shakespeare."

2. 1607, Oct. 22, for A. Johnson. *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, C., 1608, by H. Ballard for A. Johnson; 1617, 1626, 1655.

29. 1608, May 2, for T. Pavyer. *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1608, by R. B[onyon], for T. Pavier; "by W. Shakespeare," 1619. But this play is by Shakespeare: *q.v.*

1. *Sir Thomas More*, Harleian MS. 7368.

POEMS.

1591, Feb. 1, for R. Jones. *The Triumphs [Harmony] of the Church*, 1591, "by M. D.," dedicated to Lady Jane Devereux of Merivale; 1610.

1593, April 23, for T. Woodcock. *Idea [Anne Goodyere], The Shepherd's Garland fashioned in nine eclogues, Rowland's sacrifice to the nine Muses*, 1593.

1593, Dec. 3, for N. Ling and J. Busbie. *Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall*, n.d.

1594, May 30, for N. Ling. *Idea's Mirror, Amours in Quatorzains [Sonnets]*, 1594. Dedicated to Antony Cook.

Matilda, the true glory of the noble house of Sussex, 1594, by James Roberts for N. L[ing] and J. Busbie. Dedicated to Lucy Harrington. Commendatory verses by H. G[oodyere], W. G., [Sir] R[ichard] L[ong], and Anonymos. 1594, by V. Sinmes for N. L. and J. Busbie.

1595, April 12, for J. Busbie. *Endymion and Phæbe*, *Idea's Latmus*, n.d.; same motto, "*Phæbus erit, &c.*," as V. Simmes' edition of *Matilda*. Dedicated to Lucy Countess of Bedford.

Sonnet in Morley's *First Book of Balletts*, 1595.

1596, April 15, for M. Lownes. *Mortimeriados*, 1596. Dedicated to the Countess of Bedford: n.d., "for H. Lownes."

1596, Nov. 21, for N. Ling. *The tragical legend of Robert Duke of Normandy*, 1596, with *Matilda* and *Gaveston* "augmented." Verses by H. G[oodyere], R. L., and Mirocinus [Query Myro-cyenus]. Dedicated to the Countess of Bedford.

1597, Oct. 12, for N. Ling. *England's Heroical Epistles*, 1597. Dedicated to the Countess and the Earl of Bedford. 1598, 1599, 1600 (with *Idea*), 1602. [Written before 1593.]

Verses in *England's Helicon*, 1600; and in Christopher Middleton's *Legend of Duke Humphry*, 1600.

1602, Oct. 8. *Mortimeriados*, assigned from H. and M. Lownes to N. Ling; rewritten and published as *The Barons' Wars*, 1603 (with *Heroical Epistles* and *Idea*, i.e., the Sonnets, 1602). Dedicated to Sir. W. Aston.

Gratulatory poem to King James, 1603, by J. Roberts for T. M. and H. L[ownes]. See Nichols, i. xxxix.

1604, Feb. 8, for E. White and N. Ling. *The Owl*, 1604. Dedicated to Sir W. Aston.

1604, Mar., for J. Flaskett. *A Pæan triumphale to King James*, for the Goldsmiths' Society, 1604.

1604, June, for T. Man and T. Man, junior. *Moyes in a map of his Miracles*.

The collected *Poems* of 1605 contain *The Barons' Wars*, *Heroical Epistles*, *Sonnets* (*Idea*), and the *Legends*, *Gaveston*, *Matilda*, and *Robert*, but not *The Harmony of the Church*,

Shepherd's Garland, Endymion and Phæbe. Other editions, 1608, n.d., 1610, 1613, 1619 (enlarged), 1628, 1630 (augmented), 1637.

1606, April 19, for J. Flaskett. *Poems Lyric and Pastoral*, n.d., viz., *Odes* dedicated to Sir H. Goodyere, *Eclogues* (*The Shepherd's Garland*, altered) dedicated to Sir W. Aston, and *The Man in the Moon*, n.d., by R. B. for N. L[ing] and J. Flasket.

1607, Oct. 12, for J. Flasket. *The Legend of the great Cromwell*, 1607, 1609 (for W. Welby, greatly altered, "The History, &c., of the Lord Cromwell, sometime Earl of Essex"). This was inserted in the 1610 *Mirror of Magistrates*, F. Kingston's edition.

Verses in De la Serre's *Care of Silkworms*, 1609, and Davies of Hereford's *Holy Rood*, 1609.

Verses in David Murray's *Sophonisba*, 1611.

1612, Feb. 7, for M. Lownes, J. Browne, J. Helme, J. Busby, junior. *Polyolbion* [Songs 1-18, with Selden's notes], 1613. Dedicated to Prince Henry.

Verses in Tuke's *Discourse against Painting and Tincturing of Women*, 1616.

Elegy in Fitzgeoffrey's *Epigrams, &c.*, 1617, by M. D.; with others by Fr. B[eaumont] and N[athaniel] H[ookes].

Verses in Chapman's *Hesiod*, 1618.

Verses in Monday's *Primaleon*, 1619.

Verses in *Manuduction*, 1622, and Holland's *Naumachia*, 1622.

1622, Mar. 6, for J. Marriott, J. Grismond, and T. Dewe. The second part of *Polyolbion* [Songs 19-30], 1622. Finished 1619, April 14. Dedicated to Prince Charles.

1627, April 16, for W. Lee. *The battle of Agincourt* [with *Margaret, Nymphidia, Cynthia, Sirena, Mooncalf*, and *Elegies*], 1627, 1631.

Verses in Sir J. Beaumont's *Poems*, 1629.

1630, Mar. 6, for Waterson, junior, *The Muses' Elizium* [10 Nymphs]: and 3 *Divine poems*, *Noe's Flood* [pronounce "No"], *Moses' Birth and Miracles*, *David and Goliath*, 1630. Dedicated to the Earl and Countess of Dorset.

1631. Verses by M. Drayton, "poet laureat," the night before he died. MSS. Ashmole 38, art. 92.

DRAYTON'S LIST OF ENGLISH POETS.

This is taken from his *Epistle to H. Reynolds*, c. 1618.

1. Geoffry Chaucer; 2. John Gower; 3. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; 4. Thomas Wyatt; 5. Francis Brian; 6. George Gascoigne; 7. Thomas Churchyard; 8. Edmond Spenser; 9. Philip Sidney; 10. William Warner, "my old friend." Then the dramatists:—11. Christopher Marlow; 12. Thomas Nash, "proser;" 13. William Shakespeare, "comic vein;" 14. Samuel Daniel, "too much historian;" 15. Benjamin Johnson, "long lord of the theatre." Then the translators:—16. George Chapman; 17. Joshua Silvester; 18. George Sandys. Then his personal friends:—19. William Alexander; 20. William Drummond; 21. [George] Beaumont; 22. [John] Beaumont; 23. William Browne. He omits Lodge, Sackville, Constable, and James I., all of whom he had praised in his early poems, afterwards withdrawn.

CONNEXION OF "THE HEROICAL EPISTLES" WITH OTHER POEMS AND PLAYS.

1. Rosamond and Henry. Poem: *Rosamond*, by Daniel. Play: *Henry 1*, by Drayton, Dekker, and Chettle. (*Robert of Normandy*, by Drayton, treats of the same period.)

2. John and Matilda. Poem: *Matilda*, by Drayton; *Polyolbion* 26, by Drayton. Plays: 1. 2 *Robin Hood*, by Chettle and Monday.

3. Isabel and Mortimer. Poems: *Gaveston*, by Drayton; *Mortimeriados*, by Drayton. Plays: *Edward* 2, by Marlow; *The Fall of Mortimer*, by Jonson [and Chapman].

4. The Black Prince and Alice of Shrewsbury. Play: *Edward* 3 [by Marlow and Shakespeare].

5. Isabel and Richard 2. Plays: *Richard* 2, by Shakespeare; *Piers of Exton*, by Drayton, Chettle, Dekker, and Wilson.

6. Catherine and Owen Tudor. Play: *Owen Tudor*, by Drayton, Hathway, Monday, Wilson. (*Agincourt*, by Drayton, *Henry* 5, by Shakespeare, and 1. 2 *Sir J. Oldcastle* treat of this period.)

7. Elinor and Duke Humphrey. 8. Suffolk and Margaret. Poems: *Margaret*, by Drayton; *Civil wars*, by Daniel; *Polyolbion* 22 by Drayton. Plays: 2. 3 *Henry* 6 [by Peele, Greene, Lodge, Marlow].

9. Edward 4 and Jane Shore. Poem: *Jane Shore*, by A. Chute. Plays: 1. 2 *Edward* 4, by Heywood (?); *Richard* 3, by [Marlow and] Shakespeare; *Jane Shore*, by Day and Chettle; *Richard Crookback*, by Jonson.

10. Mary and Brandon. 11. Surrey and Geraldine. Poem: *Cromwell*, by Drayton. (The plays of *Henry* 8, by Shakespeare [Fletcher and Massinger], *When you see me*, &c., by S. Rowley, *Sir T. More*, *Cromwell*, 1. 2. *Cardinal Wolsey*, by Drayton, Chettle, Monday, Smith, treat of this period.)

12. Jane Grey and Dudley. Plays: 1. 2 *Sir T. Wyatt*, by Dekker, Heywood, Smith, and Webster.

DRAYTON'S PASTORAL NAMES.

These are so important for the history of English poetry, as well as English drama, that I make no apology for giving a full list of them. I have compiled such lists for Browne, Spenser, P. Fletcher, Drummond, and other poets, which, not being connected with the drama, I cannot here insert, but I trust to publish them elsewhere. References included in brackets imply that the characters are mentioned only; when not included they are interlocutors in the poems.

From the *Eclogues*, 1593, April 23 (A), and 1606,
April 19 (B).

1. Alexis [A 4, B 6]. Sir W. Alexander.
2. Ambry [B 9].
3. Batte, A 7, B 7.
4. Borril, A 7, B 7.
5. Cassanen, A 8, B 4.
6. Cuffe of the fold, the virgin of the well [B 9].
7. Daffodil [B 9].
8. Dowsabel [A 8, B 4].
9. Elphin [A 4, B 6]. Sir Philip Sidney.
10. Goldy locks [B 9].
11. Gorbo il fidele, A 8, 4, 6; B 4, 6, 8, 9.
12. Idea [A 5, 6; B 5, 8, 9]. Anne Goodere.
13. Lettice [B 9].
14. Mary Sidney of Wilton. Countess Pembroke. [A 6,
B 8].
15. Melibæus [A 4, B 6].
16. Mirtilla [A 6, B 8], a sister of the Beaumonts.
17. Motto, A 2, 8, 5; B 2, 4, 5, 9.

18. Olcon [A 6, B 8]. (?) Sir John Davies.
19. Palmeo [A 6, B 8]. One of the Beaumonts.
20. Panape [A 6, B 8]. Idea's sister; of Arden by Ankor. A Goodere.
21. Parnel [B 9].
22. Perkin, A 3, 6; B 3, 8, 9.
23. Phillida [B 9].
24. Rosalinde, the widow's daughter of the glen [B 9]; Rosa Dinle (Dinley), Spenser's beloved: see my *Introduction to Spenser*.
25. Rowland of the Rock, A 1, 3, 5, 9; B 1, 3, 5, 9, 10. Drayton, whose Muse doth like himself heroically sound: Spenser's *Ætion*.
26. Winken the old; Rowland's teacher, A 2, 4; B 2, 6. Probably Warner. Eclogue B 9 was added in 1606. Endymion (Drayton) Godfrey, Hodge, Pandora (C. Pembroke), Robin (Essex), all occurring in A 4, 6, 10, were then omitted.

From *The Muses' Elysium*, 1630, Mar. 6.

1. Claia [3], 5, 8, 10.
2. Clarinax [5].
3. Cleon, 2.
4. Cloe, 3.
5. Cloris, 3, 4, 8.
6. Codrus, a fisher, 7.
7. Corbilus, 10.
8. Dorida, 1.
9. Dorilus, 3. Compare *The Shepherds' Sirena*.
10. Doron, 3.
11. Felicia [4, 7, 10].
12. Florimel [1, 3], 7.

13. Halius, a fisher, 6.
14. Lalus, 2.
15. Lelipa [1, 8], 5, 7.
16. Lirope, 2.
17. Melanthus, a shepherd, 6.
18. Mirtilla, 3, 4, 8, a Beaumont. See *Eclogues*.
19. Rodope, 1.
21. Silvius, a forester, 6.
22. Tita [8], of her marriage.

From *The Quest of Sirena*, 1627, April 16.

1. Colin. Spenser.
2. Dorilus. See *The Muses' Elysium*.
3. Gill. Giles Fletcher?
4. Olcon. Sir John Davies. See *Eclogues*.
5. Ralph.
6. Rock. Drayton?
7. Sirena, who lived near Trent. Sylvia, one of the Astons.

Michael Drayton was born at Hartshill, near Atherstone, in Warwickshire, in 1563. He became "a proper goodly page, much like a pigmy, scarce ten¹ years of age," probably in the family of Sir Henry Goodere (not Goodeve, as Mr. Bullen says) of Powlsworth, as he tells us himself in his Epistle to Henry Reynolds. He afterwards was sent to a University, most likely to Cambridge, at Sir Henry Goodere's expense, and soon after attaining his majority came to London, where he was intimate with Lodge (whom he calls Goldey) and Daniel (Musæus). About 1587 he wrote his *Elegy* on Sidney, which was afterwards inserted in his *Eclogues*. Many other poems were probably produced and

¹ Mr. Bullen says "two years," with his usual inaccuracy.

circulated by him some years before his first publication; in fact, it seems to have been his usual custom to delay committing his works to the press until they had been handed round and criticised by a circle of friends.

1590-1, Feb. 10. This is the date of his preface to his first publication, *The Harmony of the Church*, entered on the Stationers' Registers (S. R.) 1st Feb., and dedicated to Lady Jane Devereux of Merivale. This book was "seized" and ordered to be destroyed, but forty copies were preserved by Archbishop Whitgift in Lambeth Palace.

1593, April 23, *Idea, Nine Eclogues*, published. *Idea* is the lady to whom all Drayton's love-poems were addressed, and was identified by me in my *Land of Shakespeare*. She was a member of the Goodere family, and her name was Anne, as will be seen by comparing the following passages. In *Eclogue* viii. two sisters are mentioned, the eldest, Panape, who is sick in Arden, by the river Ankor; the younger, *Idea*, who lives by the Meene, a mountain in Cotswold looking over the Stowre, near the vale of Evesham, but was "bred" where Panape now abides, *i.e.*, in Arden. This part of *Eclogue* viii. was published in 1606. In the *Hymn to his Lady's birthplace* [c. 1604] we are told that *Idea* was born in Mich Parke, a street in Coventry, on 4th Aug., that Godiva was "but her type," and Elizabeth was queen in order that "a maid should reign when she was born." From *Polyolbion*, Song xiii., it appears that the lady by whom Coventry was to be made so great was Anne Goodere; that *An-cor* prophesies her Christian name and *God-iva* half her surname. There is, then, no mystery in this matter, which critic after critic failed to decipher; unless, indeed, it be a mystery how to reconcile the fact of their not having read the *Polyolbion* with the lavish praises they have bestowed on it. It appears further, from

Polyolbion, xiv., that the place to which Idea removed was probably Clifford, in the extreme north of Gloucestershire, "which many a time hath been the Muses' quiet port." It should be noted that no work of Drayton is openly dedicated to this lady. A list of Drayton's published works has already been given, and should at this place be referred to.

It now becomes desirable to set down what results I have succeeded in attaining as to the pastoral names under which Drayton shrouded his allusions to contemporaries in his *Eclogues*. Mr. Bullen, with the magisterial assurance of youth and inexperience, says, "At this date it cannot be discovered to whom some of the allusions refer." I need not say that Mr. Bullen has not had the industry to discover to whom any one allusion refers, although merely a careful perusal of his author must have led him to several. For instance, I have already pointed out that Goldey is Lodge, and Musæus Daniel; and that Idea and Panape are Anne Goodere and her elder sister; so Elphin is, of course, Sidney, and Alexis Sir W. Alexander: Rowland of the Rock is Drayton's self-chosen pastoral name. But most of these identifications lie on the surface, and were evident even to Mr. Collier. Those that follow have never before been noted, and are, indeed, not easy to find out. Sylvia, that once lived in Moreland, in Staffordshire, and has now removed to Kent, near the Ravensbourn (*Eclogue viii.*), the admired of Motto (*Ecl. ix.*), is certainly a member of the Aston family, of Tixhall, on the Trent, the head of which, Sir. W. Aston, was, as we shall see, Drayton's patron. Sirena, who also left the Trent for another home (*Sirena's complaint*), is either identical with Sylvia or another lady of the same family; Myrtilia, that lives in wild Charnwood, by the Soar, and her brothers, Thyrsis and Palmeo, are certainly Elizabeth, John, and Francis Beaumont, Francis being

the celebrated dramatist, and John the poet. The "widow's daughter of the glen" I have shown in my *Guide to Spenser* to be Spenser's Rosalynde, Rosa Dynle(y). The "shepherdess on Willy's banks" is, of course, Mary Countess of Pembroke, who lived at Wilton.

So far all is clear; but the hardest nut remains to crack. Who is Olcon? He is a personage important to Drayton's biography, yet no guess even has been made as to his identity. The following are the passages referring to him:—

"So did great Olcon, which a Phœbus seemed
 (Whom all good shepherds gladly flockt about),
 And as a god of Rowland was esteemed;
 Which to his praise drew all the rural rout:
 For after Rowland (as it had been Pan)
 Only to Olcon every shepherd ran.

But he forsakes the herdgroom and his flocks,
 Nor of his bagpipes takes at all no keep;
 But to the stern wolf and deceitful fox
 Leaves the poor shepherd and his harmless sheep:
 And all those rhymes, that he of Olcon sung,
 (The swain disgraced), participate his wrong."

Eclogue viii., 1606 edition; not in 1593.

"Roguish swineherds, that repine
 At our flocks like beastly clowns,
 Swear that they will bring their swine
 And will root up all our downs.

.

Angry Olcon sets them on
 And against us part doth take,
 Ever since he was outgone
 Offering rhymes with us to make."

The Shepherd's Sirena, 1627.

The name Olcon, and the fact that Olcon is a person of authority over the law-officers or "swineherds," seem at first to point to Cecil Lord Burleigh, whose seat was near

the river Olcon (see *Polyolbion*, vii.), but Burleigh was not a poetical writer, as Olcon was. I think Sir John Davies is meant.

It should be noticed that in the enumeration of English Poets in the *Epistle to Reynolds* there are noteworthy omissions of the names of Lodge and Davies. Drayton habitually, when offended with any writer or patron, ceased to mention him, and, more than that, cut out of his later editions any mention that existed in earlier ones. In this way he cancelled his allusions to Lodge and Daniel when he rewrote his *Endimion and Phæbe*, his compliments to the Bedfords in his *Mortimeriados* and his *Sonnets* addressed to various persons. If, then, the *Sirena* can be dated about 1604, he is very likely to be Olcon. But can we so date *Sirena*? The occurrence of the pastoral name Dorilus links *Sirena* with the *Muses' Elizium*, which was published in 1630, and dedicated to Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset. Drayton's usual custom was to publish his more important works by themselves, and to gather up his lyrics at intervals. Had these poems, published in 1627, been written as early as 1608, we should have expected them to have been included in the editions of his poems in 1610, 1613, or surely in 1619, in which sundry pieces were inserted never before imprinted. On the other hand, the separation of the *Sirena* from the *Muses' Elizium*, with which it would naturally be classed, and its publication with the *Agincourt*, &c., in a separate volume, by a different publisher, and not dedicated to the Earl of Dorset, certainly looks as if there were nothing in that poem connected with the Sackville family. The great influence which Davies had with James I. in the early years of his reign seems to indicate him to be Olcon, and no other poet has been suggested as even likely to be so. See further under Shakespeare, *Sonnets*.

I have introduced this digression in this place because in 1597 we reach a distinct epoch in Drayton's career. He was at this time driven by necessity, and the failure (as he alleges) of his patron's promises, to write for the theatre. He continued to do so for five years; and not till after the accession of James, and his meeting with a new patron in Sir W Aston, was he able to give up this, to him, unpalatable occupation.

It is specially to be noted that he, like Beaumont, never allowed his name to appear in print as an author for the stage. The only published play in which we positively know him to have been concerned (*Sir John Oldcastle*) bore on its title-page "by William Shakespeare." As no play by Monday, Wilson, or Hathaway, his coadjutors in this one, was ever attributed to Shakespeare, and as Drayton was the only one of the four ever connected with Shakespeare's company of players, it becomes a matter of great interest to investigate what connexion Drayton may have had with other plays wrongly attributed by publishers or tradition to the great dramatist. For if this attribution of the *Oldcastle* play was due to Drayton's connexion with it, as it manifestly was, the same thing may have happened in cases hitherto unsuspected.

From the list of plays written for Henslow (for which see further on) many results follow important for Drayton's biography. It is evident from the smallness of the sums advanced in some instances that it was during this period that money was urgently needed by him; for instance, on 6th June 1598 we find an entry in these terms, "Lent unto Thomas Dowton to lend unto Drayton, I say lent for the 2 part of Godwin, 10s." Moreover, not one of these twenty-four plays was ever published with Drayton's name attached to it, and only one published at all. He evidently

regarded his connexion with the stage as a degradation. Again, in his list of contemporary poets in his *Epistle to H. Reynolds* he does not mention one of his coadjutors in these plays, not Monday, Chettle, Dekker, Wilson, Webster, Hathaway, Smith, or Middleton; the dramatists whom he does mention are Chapman (but only as a translator), Nash, Marlow, Skakespeare, and Jonson, the latter three all connected with the company known till 1594 as Lord Strange's, and afterwards as the Chamberlain's. This seems to point to a connexion between this company and Drayton of a date subsequent to his engagement with Henslow. This conjecture is confirmed by the tradition that he was the author of the *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, and I think that whoever carefully compares the characters of the Host in that play with his eternal refrain of "I serve the good Duke of Norfolk," and Sir John with his "Grass and hay, we are all mortal, &c.," with that of Murley in *Oldcastle* with his "paltry, paltry, to and fro, &c.," will come to the conclusion that all these characters were the productions of one brain. But we know that Drayton was one of the authors of *Oldcastle*; it is, therefore, very likely that the tradition is a true one, and that he wrote the *Merry Devil* for the Chamberlain's company.

A further examination of Henslow's list shows that, of the twenty-four plays there given, eighteen were written in about a year, in 1598; while in the remaining four years, 1599-1603, during which Drayton continued to write for the stage he only assisted in producing six plays for Henslow. It seems probable that during this time he must have been writing also for another company; he had to live, had lost his patronage from the Bedford family, and certainly produced nothing for the press. Is there any trace left of what he produced for the theatre?

The clue to an answer is, I think, to be found in the fact that the *Merry Devil* has been assigned to Shakespeare by tradition. I might seem to strengthen my subsequent hypothesis if I coupled with this the fact that *Oldcastle* was also published with Shakespeare's name on the title-page; but this was, no doubt, merely a device of its dishonest publisher, Pavier, to get the play mistaken for Shakespeare's *Henry* 4-5, in which Falstaff was originally called Oldcastle. The false statement was quickly discovered and suppressed; only a few copies bear Shakespeare's name. Putting this aside, then, it is worth while to examine what other unauthentic plays of date 1599-1603 are connected with the name of Shakespeare. These are *The Life and Death of Cromwell*, written 1601, published 1602; *The London Prodigal*, written early in 1603, published 1605; the revision of 2. 3 *Henry* 6; and the revised or Folio version of *Richard* 3. In my opinion,¹ *Cromwell* and the *Prodigal* are certainly by the same author, and that author was probably Drayton; and the similarities between the portions of 2. 3 *Henry* 6 added in 1600-1 and Drayton's poems are so great as hardly to allow us to doubt of their authorship. I must now ask the reader to consider carefully the table already given of Drayton's *Heroical Epistles* as connected with poems and plays on the same subjects.

I may now gather retrospectively the remarkable omissions made in the later editions of Drayton's early poems;

¹ The only competitor for the authorship of these plays hitherto brought forward is Wentworth Smith, whose initials are supposed to have been used in order to induce purchasers to suppose they were buying plays by Shakespeare. But among many reasons against this hypothesis one is conclusive: it was just during this period, 1601-1603, that Smith, who is unknown outside these limits of date, was engaged in writing for Henslow; he contributed to fifteen plays for him during 1601 and 1602, and certainly did not write for any other company in those years.

they are of the highest importance to Shakespearians, and an accessible reprint of the first copies (for the price of Collier's Roxburgh Club Edition is prohibitory to many) would be a great boon.

The *Eclogues*, 1593, April 23. Collier has pointed out that in this early edition, in Ecl. A 4 (B 6), good old Godfrey is mentioned as Winken's teacher, in A 6 (B 8) the Countess of Pembroke is called Pandora, and that in the final Eclogue Drayton is *Endymion*. All these allusions were cut out in the 1606 edition. Again, *Gorbo il fidele* is identified with Hodge, and Robin, identified by Collier with Essex, was also omitted in 1606.

Idea's Mirror, 1594, May 30 (*Sonnets*). The following Sonnets were omitted in later editions:—2, 3 (in which Sidney, Constable, and Daniel are mentioned), 4, 7, 9, 11, 18 (remarkable for its metre, ABBA, CDDC, EFFE, GG; not ABAB, CDCD, EFEF, GG, his later form, which is the same as Shakespeare's), 24, 30, 32, 41, 45 (Alexandrines), 49, 51, 56 (a canzonet "to conclude" in 4 *xa* octosyllabic), of rhyme formula 2 (AABBCCC), 62 (to James I., which at one time led me to identify James with Olcon), 63 (to Lucy Countess of Bedford, *née* Harrington), 64 (to Lady Ann Harrington, wife to Sir John), 65 (to L. S.), 66. These Sonnets were called "Idea" simply in the 1600 edition, in which that to Lucy Bedford is still retained; but in the 1602, Oct. 8, edition this was permanently withdrawn. The Sonnets ultimately added in place of these are (in the modern numbering) 1, 4, 6, 8, 15, 21, 27, 36, 37, 43, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 57, 58, 61. The ABBA form occurs in 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 26, 34, 35, 38, 42, and in 18 A, but never in the additions. The Sonnets of this form are, therefore, probably the earlier. In 9 he says he lost his wit "nine years

since," therefore in 1584. In 47 he had striven for the laurel with those that press the thronged theatres. The exact date of the addition of this Sonnet I am unable to give, not having access to all the old editions; but it is important. That these Sonnets were the immediate model of Shakespeare's I cannot doubt. See especially 31, 44 (on his old age), 56, &c.

Endymion and Phœbe, 1595, April 14. Lodge is called Goldey, and Daniel Musæus. This poem, and consequently these allusions, was suppressed altogether in the collected editions of 1605 onward.

Matilda, 1594. Daniel's *Rosamond*, Chute's *Jane Shore*, Lodge's *Elstred*, and Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, "lately revived . . . acting her passions on our stately stage," are alluded to; but the *Lucrece* allusion was omitted in the 1605 edition. It occurs in that of 1596.

Mortimeriados, 1596, April 15, contained a reference to Lucy Countess of Bedford, which was withdrawn in the 1602, Oct., edition. As the *Sonnet* to her was still retained in 1600, this fixes the rupture with Drayton to c. 1601. In ii. 69 of the rewritten poem (*The Barons' Wars*) we find that Drayton's "rhymes first begun of Idea's bower" in 1593; and from ii. 70, that he had in 1602 adopted Sir W. Aston as patron in Lucy Bedford's place. In v. 9, the allusion to the Muse being forbidden to "report what toucheth the deposing of a king" refers to the Essex trial and the *Richard 2* performance in 1601. Compare the lines on "the deposing of a king" in *The Heroical Epistles* (Isabel to Richard 2), 1597.

Robert Duke of Normandy, 1596, Nov. 21. Drayton, in his dedication to Lucy Bedford, complains of being "still poor."

The Heroical Epistles, 1597, Oct. 12, but probably written before 1595. This is important in relation to Spenser's

Ætïon allusion in 1595. They contain some matters of interest to the dramatic student. "Diana in the fountain" (Rosamond to Henry) was taken up by Shakespeare (from the 1597 edition) in *As You Like it*, iv. 1. The story of the Black Prince and Lady Salisbury from Bandello is differently treated from the version in *Edward 3* [Shakespeare, 1594]. In the next epistle (Isabel to Richard 2) Hertford is used for Hereford, as in Shakespeare's play. In another (Humphrey to Eleanor) "path" is used as a verb, and so in *Polyolbion*, ii. Compare *Julius Cæsar*, ii. 1. I have no doubt that Shakespeare read and studied Drayton's early poems.

From all this it is evident that Drayton habitually omitted in his collected editions all allusions to persons whose personal relations to him had been interrupted. Thus we find dates for these ruptures: that with the Countess of Bedford, 1600-1602; those with Lodge, Shakespeare, James I., and, I think, Sir John Davies, all before or in 1605; but want of access to all the old editions compels me to leave exact investigation incomplete. As to Davies, however, I have little doubt that "The Swallow whose swift Muse doth range through rare Ideas," mentioned in *Orchestra* (S. R. 1594, June 25; not 1593, as W. C. Hazlitt tells us), must be Drayton. "*Ideas*," i.e., the *Sonnets*, was licensed 1594, May 30; and "*Idea*," the *Eclogues*, 1593, April 23. Dr. ¹Locibus Grosart suggests Richard Martin, the Recorder, as the owner of this swift Muse. Davies, in 1622, followed Drayton's example by omitting this allusion.

In connexion with this, the curious entry of *Amours*, by

¹ So named by me from the astounding "in locibus" in his edition of Davies, p. 356. Did the learned LL.D. and D.D. (Double Doctor) complete his classical education in the third form?

J. D[avies], with certain other *Sonnets* by W. S[hakespeare], S. R. 1600, Jan. 3, for E. Edgar, must not be omitted. Were these parodies on Drayton's "*Amours in Quatorzains*," 1594, and Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, then in MS., and are the extant mock-amorous Sonnets of Davies a portion of them?

The epithet "golden-mouthed" seems to be appropriated to Drayton. See Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, 1598; Guilpin, *Skialetheia*, 1598; C. Fitzgeoffrey, *Affiniae*, 1601. For minor matters connected with Lady Frances Goodere, Sir J. Swinnerton, and J. Huish, I can add nothing to what Collier has said in his 1856 edition, *q.v.*

Thus far for Drayton's life in Elizabeth's reign. When James succeeded, Drayton addressed his *Pæan* and his *Gratulatory* to him, and expected, as being the most forward to "teach his title in rhyme" (*Letter to G. Sandys*, c. 1621), to be specially patronized; but James, on whom "next my God I built my trust," forsook him, as the Countess of Bedford and Sir John Davies had done. *The Owl*, 1604, Feb. 8, is filled with personal satire, which cannot be dilated on here. In 1605 he certainly gave up all connexion with the stage and betook himself entirely to poetry. He began by collecting his *Poems* (with the remarkable omissions already noticed) in 1605 and 1606, wrote his *Robert Duke of Normandy* in 1607, and then devoted himself to his great work, the *Polyolbion*, under the patronage of Prince Henry, 1607-12, and of Prince Charles, 1612-22. The patronage of Sir Walter Aston had extended from 1602 to 1606, and that of Sir H. Goodere from 1584 or earlier to at least the same date. Under Charles I. his chief patrons were the Earl and Countess of Dorset. Among his personal friends should be noted the dramatists with whom he wrote (for whom see the list further on): Selden, who wrote the annotations on *Polyolbion*, 1612; G. Sandys (see the *Epistle*

to him c. 1621); Henry Reynolds, in the *Epistle* to whom not earlier than 1616 are mentioned Warner, "my old friend," who must be one of the interlocutors in the *Eclogues*; Shakespeare, Jonson, Sandys, all personally known to him; Alexander and the "love twixt us;" then "my dear Drummond;" then "the two Beaumonts and my dear Browne, my dear companions." To these we must add the authors for whose works he wrote verses, and for his early time those whose names were omitted in his later editions, especially that of Lodge.

Drayton died in 1631.

PLAYS.

1. *Sir Thomas More*, c. 1596. See Anonymous, 233.

2. *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, c. 1596-7. See Anonymous, 236.

These were for the Chamberlain's men. The following were for the Admiral's men at the Rose:—

3. 1597, Dec. 22, 28; 1598, Jan. 3. *Mother Redcap* (with Monday).

4. 1598, Mar. 13. "A book wherein is a part of a *Welshman*" (with Chettle), "which they have promised to deliver by the xx day next following" [Mar. 20]. The next entry is [c. Mar. 20] (not dated, but before Mar. 25) for *The famous Wars of Henry 1 and the Prince of Wales*, by Drayton, Chettle, and Dekker; evidently the same book. It was read at the Sun, in New Fish Street.

5. 1598, Mar. 25, 30. 1. *Earl Godwin and his three sons* (with Chettle, Dekker, Wilson).

6. 1598 [April c. 4]. *Piers of Exton* (with the same).

7. 1598, May [c. 3] 22. 1. *Black Batman of the North*. Probably the same story as the ballad of *Bateman's Tragedy* (with the same).

8. 1598, April [May] 6; June 6, 10. 2. *Godwin* (with the same).

9. 1598, June 13-26 (8 entries). *Richard Cœur de Lion's Funeral* (with Chettle, Monday, Wilson).

10. 1598, June 31 [30]; July 9, 10. *The Madman's Morris* (with Dekker, Wilson).

11. 1598, July 17, 26, 27, 18 [28]. *Hannibal and Hermes*, otherwise called *Worse feared than hurt* (with the same).

12. 1598, July 28; Aug. 8, 10. *Piers of Winchester* (with the same).

13. 1598, Aug. 19, 24. *Chance Medley* (with Monday, Wilson, Dekker, or more likely Chettle. See Henslow's entry, and compare authors of *Richard Cordelion's Funeral*).

14. 1598, Aug. 30; [Sept.] 4. 2. *Worse afeard than hurt* (with Dekker).

15. 1598, Sept. 29. 1. *Civil Wars in France* (with Dekker).

16. 1598, Oct. 16, 20. *Connan* [Corin] *Prince of Cornwall* (with Dekker).

17. 1598, Nov. 3. 2. *Civil Wars in France* (with Dekker).

18. 1598, Nov. 18; Dec. 30. 3. *Civil Wars in France* (with Dekker).

19. 1599, Jan. 20. *William Longsword* [not *Longbeard*, as Henslow has it. Cf. Drayton's own receipt, Jan. 21, *Diary*, p. 95]. Lodge had written a novel on W. Longbeard.

20. 1599, Oct. 16. 1. *Sir John Oldcastle* (with Monday, Hathway, Wilson). The only one of these Rose plays extant. See under Hathway.

21. 1599, Oct. 16; Dec. 19. 2. *Sir John Oldcastle*.

22. 1600, Jan. [c. 14]. *Owen Tudor* (with Hathway, Monday, Wilson).

23. 1600, June 3, 14. 1. *Fair Constance of Rome* (with Dekker, Hathway, Monday).

This ends the Rose plays of Drayton. He seems to have then gone away from the Admiral's company, for whom, in twenty-seven months, he had written as a coadjutor in twenty-one plays. I conjecture that he then wrote for the Chamberlain's men; that he corrected *Henry 6*, and wrote 24, *Cromwell*, for them. See further on. However this may be, he rejoined the Admiral's men at the Fortune.

25. 1601. Oct. 10; Nov. 6, 9, 12. *The Rising of Cardinal Wolsey*, written after the *The Life of Wolsey*, by Chettle, 1601, June; (with Chettle, Monday, Smith). Note that Drayton wrote in neither the 2. *Fair Constance* of 1600, June 19, nor in the 1. *Wolsey*, 1601, June, these plays being intimately connected with his last play at the Rose and his first at the Fortune. He must surely have been away from the company for sixteen months. He had previously written for them in some new play every forty days.

26. 1602, May 22. *Cæsar's Fall* (with Middleton, Monday, Webster, and "the rest" [Dekker] probably). This entry was not noticed by Malone, but I do not think its genuineness has been disputed.

27. 1602, May 29. "*Two harpes*" (with Dekker, Middleton, Monday, Webster).

After this I conjecture that Drayton again wrote for the Globe company, 28, *The London Prodigal*, but not 29, *The Yorkshire Tragedy*. These plays are discussed under W. S., but I may here note a few remarks on the plays falsely ascribed to Shakespeare in the 1664 Folio. This edition added seven plays, viz.:—

4. *Sir John Oldcastle* [by Drayton, Monday, Hathway, Wilson, for the Admiral's men], published 1600, "by William

Shakespeare," but this was withdrawn in the second 1600 issue.

5. *The Puritan Widow* [by T. Middleton, for the Paul's boys], published 1607, by "W. S."

7. *Locrine* [by G. Peele], published 1595, "newly set forth, oversèen, and corrected by W. S."

1. *Pericles*, published 1609, "by William Shakespeare" [and W. Rowley], for the King's men; reprinted 1611, 1619.

3. *Lord Cromwell*, published 1602, "by W. S.," for the Chamberlain's men at the Globe; reprinted 1613.

2. *The London Prodigal*, published 1605, "by William Shakespeare," for the King's men at the Globe.

6. *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, published 1608, "by William Shakespeare," for the King's men at the Globe; reprinted 1619.

Evidently this collection was made up from all the plays that had had Shakespeare's name or initials in their title-pages; but 3, 2, 6, with which only we are here concerned, differ from the others in the following respects: they were never disavowed by Shakespeare, they were written for his company, and two of them reached second editions without alteration of author's name. The author must, I think, have had authority for the use of Shakespeare's name or initials, have been a "shadow" or "journeyman" of Shakespeare, have been an author who had some reason for not wishing his own name to appear, and, of course, have been connected with Shakespeare's company. Of all the authors enumerated in this present work only two can be regarded as eligible. The first is Wentworth Smith, and the identity of initials would make him appear at first sight as a likely candidate, if the initials only were concerned; but the absence of any connecting-link between him and Shakespeare or Shakespeare's company, and the appearance of

the name in full in two plays, disqualify him. The second is Drayton, whose career tallies in every way. He had written *The Merry Devil* for the Globe; he had not allowed his name to appear on the title of that play or of *Oldcastle*; he is mixed up with the Falstaff-Oldcastle "comical humours" and the Cromwell-Wolsey series of plays. The plays here concerned exactly fill up the blank periods of his theatrical career, and the similarity between his *Barons' Wars*, &c., and the added portions of *Henry 6* and the alterations of *Richard 3* in the Folio edition, point to him as the journeyman employed by Shakespeare in their revival. This hypothesis would solve the difficulty of *Henry 6* having been attributed to Shakespeare. It would require such an edition as that prepared by me at the request of the New Shakspeare Society in 1874 (but not printed, owing to their not having kept to their engagement to issue it) to show the similarities here spoken of. One instance must here suffice:—

"So many years as he had worn a crown :
 So many years as he had hope to rise :
 So many years upon him did I frown :
 So many years he lived without his eyes :
 So many years in dying ere he dies :
 So many years shut up in prison strong,
 Though sorrows make the shortest time seem long."
Robert Duke of Normandy, 1596.

Compare 3. *Henry 6*, ii. 5, 31-40.

Note especially that the same publisher, Pavier, who had had to immediately withdraw "William Shakespeare" from the *Oldcastle* title was allowed to retain it in *The Yorkshire Tragedy* from 1608 to 1619.

DRUE, THOMAS. (Plays.)

3. *The Bloody Banquet*, "by T. D.," for T. Cotes,
 1630, 1639.

2. 1629, Nov. 13, for Jasper Emery. *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk*, H., 1631.

1. *The Woman's Mistaken*. See Davenport, 8.

2. 1624, Jan. 2. *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk* was licensed for the Palsgrave's men at the Fortune, but "much dangerous matter" was reformed by Herbert, who had £2 for his pains.

3. *The Bloody Banquet*, which follows Davenport's plays in Beeston's 1639 list, and which, therefore, must have been acted at the Cockpit [probably by the L. Elizabeth's men in the time of James I.], has been assigned to R. Davenport by an idle guess, and to R. Barker by some old catalogues. But there can be little doubt that "T. D." the author, was Thomas Drue.

DRURY, WILLIAM. (Latin.)

Dramatica Poemata. Douay, 1628. Antwerp, 1641.

This Englishman was imprisoned for his religion; released at the intercession of Count Gondomar; taught poetry and rhetoric at the English College at Douay from Oct. 1618 onward; and died abroad. He dedicated his plays to Gondomar. They were performed privately in the Douay refectory, and publicly in the quadrangle.

1. *Aluredus* sive *Alfredus*, T. C., performed three times 1619. Strumbo (cf. *Lochrine*) is a comic character in it.

2. *Mors*, C.

3. *Reparatus* (*desperabundus*) sive *Depositum*, T. C., prima pars.

EADES, DR. RICHARD, of Christchurch, Oxford, 1571–1604, was, according to Meres, "one of our best for Tragedy" before 1598, but even the names of his plays are all lost.

EDWARDES, RICHARD. (Plays.)

2. 1567–8, for R. Jones. *Damon and Pythias*, C.

1. MS. *Misogonus*.

Edwardes was born in Somersetshire 1523; scholar of Corpus Christi, Oxford, 11th May 1540; student of Christchurch and M.A. 1547; Master of the Chapel children 1559; died 1566.

1. 1559, Dec. 31. *Misogonus*. My reasons for attributing this play to Edwardes are given in my *History of the Stage*, pp. 58, 60.

2. 1563-4, Christmas. *Damon and Pythias*. See *History of the Stage*, p. 60.

3. 1566, Sept. 3. *Palæmon and Arcyte*, in two parts, was presented to the Queen in Christ Church, Oxford.

The only performances of the Chapel children in Elizabeth's reign, before Edwardes' death, were the two mentioned here in 1559 and 1563-4. Warton mentions a collection of comic stories printed in 1570, "set forth by Master Richard Edwardes, master of her Majesty's Revels." No copy is now known. As there is no evidence that this was a first edition, there is no reason for inserting any Richard Edwardes "the Younger," as Hazlitt, *more suo*, does in his *Handbook*. The *Epitaph on Pembroke* therein mentioned was, of course, by C. Edwardes, author of *The Mansion of Mirth*. See also *Godly Queen Hester*.

ELDERTON, WILLIAM. (Plays.)

Elderton is manifestly the fifth fool in Tarlton's *Horse-load of Fools*, who writes "pastorals for us players to speak." See Tarlton. He wrote a play performed at Court by the Westminster children 1572-3. See *Revels Accounts*, p. 42.

FERRERS, GEORGE.

Mistakenly called Edward Ferrers by Puttenham, whom Meres copies when he speaks of "Master Edward Ferris, the author of *The Mirror for Magistrates*," as "one of our best for Tragedy." None of his plays are known. But see *Ferrar*, Anon. 56.

FIELD, NATHANIEL. See FLETCHER, JOHN.

FISHER, JASPER. (University Play.)

1. 1633, Aug. 1, for Robert Allott. *Fuimus Troes, The True Trojans*, 1633.

Born in Bedfordshire. Entered as commoner Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 1607; B.A., M.A.; reader of Magdalen College; rector of Welden, Bedfordshire, c. 1631; D.D. c. 1633. Oldys says he was blind.

1. *Fuimus Troes*. *Æneid* 2. *The True Trojans*. "Being a story of the Britains' valour at the Romans' First Invasion. Publicly represented by the Gentlemen Students of Magdalen College in Oxford." A play of the usual University type, with choruses and induction by ghosts.

FLETCHER, JOHN. (Plays.) F.

BEAUMONT, FRANCIS. (Plays and Mask.) B

FIELD, NATHANIEL. (Actor and Playwright.) Fd.

MASSINGER, PHILIP. (Plays.) M.

Of the known coadjutors of Fletcher;—Beaumont, Field and Massinger will be found more satisfactorily manageable if treated in the same group; (the reasons will be evident when I treat of the plays individually;) but Daborne and Rowley are better treated apart. One play of Shakespeare's was also altered by Fletcher, and one of Fletcher's by Shirley; but there is no reason to suppose they ever wrote in conjunction with him.

1. 1607, May 20, for E. Edgar and R. Jackson. *The Woman hater*, C., 1607 [by R. R.], sold by J. Hodgets, Anon.; 1648, by J. Fletcher; 1649, *The Woman hater*, or *The Hungry Courtier*, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher.

2. *The Faithful Shepherdess* [1609], for R. Bonian and H. Whalley, by J. Fletcher; 1629, 1634, 1656, 1665.

8. 1611, Nov. 23, for J. Budge. *A Woman is a Weathercock*, 1612, by N. Field.

7. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1613, for W. Burre, Anon.; 1635, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher.

17. 1613, Jan. [Feb.] 27, for George Norton. *The mask of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, n.d.

10. 1615, April 24, for Josias Harrison. *Cupid's Revenge*, 1615, by T. Creede for J. H., by John Fletcher; 1630, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher; 1635. Beaumont died 1616, Mar. 6.

5. 1616, Mar. 19, for Miles Partriche. *The Scornful Lady*, C., by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher, 1616; by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher, 1625; 1630, 1635, 1639, 1651.

26. *Amends for Ladies*, C., 1618, by G. Eld for M. Walbanck, by N. Field; 1639, "With the merry pranks of Moll Cutpurse, or the Humor of Roaring."

13. 1618, Aug. 7, for E. Blount. *A King and no King*, T., 1619, for T. Walkley, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher; 1625, 1631, 1639, 1655, 1661, "fourth time printed" [read sixth, vi. for iv.]. Field leaves the stage c. 1619, Mar.

14. 1619, April 28, for R. Higginbotham and F. Constable. *The Maid's Tragedy*, 1619, for F. Constable, Anon.; 1622; 1630, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher; 1638, 1641, 1650, 1661.

11. 1620, Jan. 10, for T. Walkley. *Philaster* [Or *Love lies a bleeding*], 1620, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher; 1622, 1628, 1634, 1639, 1652, n.d.

31. *Thierry King of France and his brother Theodoret*, T., 1621, for T. Walkley, Anon.; 1648, by J. Fletcher; 1649, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher.

47. 1621, Dec. 7, for T. Jones. *The Virgin Martyr*, T., by P. Massinger and T. Dekker, 1622, by B. A. for T. Jones; 1631, 1654, 1661.

45. 1623, Jan. 29, for E. Blackmore and J. Norton.

"*Sforza Duke of Milan*, made by Master Messinger," 1623.
The Duke of Milan, T., by B. A[llot] for E. Blackmore, 1638.

32. 1623, Nov. 8, for E. Blount and I. Jaggard. *Henry 8*, in the Shakespeare Folio.

62. 1624, Mar. 12, for Josias Harrison and E. Blackmore. "*The Bondman*, by Philip Messinger," T., 1624.
The Bondman, an antient Story, by E. Alde, for J. Harrison and E. Blackmore, 1638, *bis*. Fletcher was buried 1625, Aug. 29.

71. *The Roman Actor*, T., 1629, for B. Allot.

74. *The Picture*, T. C., 1630, for T. Walkley.

64. 1630, Mar. 22, for J. Waterson. "*The Renegado*, by Philip Messinger," T. C., 1630.

76. 1631, Nov. 19, for J. Waterson. *The Emperor of the East*, T. C., 1632.

50. 1632, Jan. 16, for Waterson, junior. "*The Maid of Honor*, by Philip Massinger," 1632.

37. 1632, Mar. 30, for F. Constable. *The Fatal Dowry*, T., 1632.

51. 1632, Nov. 10, for H. Seile. "*A new way to pay old debts*, by Philip Massinger," C., 1633.

12. 1634, April 8, for J. Waterson. "*The Two Noble Kinsmen*, by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare," T. C., 1634.

68. 1635, Dec. 7, for J. Marriott. "*The Great Duke of Florence*, a comical history, by Philip Massinger," 1636.

83. 1637, Mar. 29, for J. Waterson and J. Benson. "*The Elder Brother*, written by John Fletcher," C.; 1637, by F. K[irkman?] for J. W. and J. B., *bis*; 1651, by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher; 1661, by J. Fletcher.

6. 1639, Jan. 22, for J. Waterson. "*Monsieur Thomas*, by Master John Fletcher," C., 1639.

52. 1639, Feb. 14, for J. Waterson. *The Unnatural Combat*, by Philip Massinger, C., 1639. Massinger was buried Mar. 18.

20. 1639, April 25, for A. Crooke and W. Cooke. (a) *The Nightwalker*, or *The Little Thief*, C., 1640, by John Fletcher; 1661.

21. (b) *Wit without Money*, C., 1639, by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher; 1661.

With these were entered *The Opportunity*, *Love's Cruelty*, and *The Coronation*, all by Shirley.

30. 1639, Oct. 4, for J. Crooke and R. Sergier. "*The Bloody Brother*, by J. B.," T.; 1639, by R. Bishop for T. Allott and J. Crooke, "by B. J. F.;" 1640, by L. Lichfield, Oxford, *The Tragedy of Rollo Duke of Normandy*, by John Fletcher.

66. *Rule a wife and have a wife*, C., by J. Fletcher; 1640, by L. Lichfield, Oxford.

The first Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, containing all the Fletcher plays (save one) not yet printed in Quarto, thirty-six in all, was edited by Shirley in 1647 for H. Moseley, with dedication to Philip Earl of Pembroke, and Commendatory poems.

56. *The Wildgoose Chase*, C., completing the tale of Fletcher plays, was recovered by a person of Honor, and published by H. Moseley, 1652, for the benefit of J. Lowin and J. Taylor, as by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher.

1653, Sept. 9, for H. Moseley. (84) *The Bashful Lover*, T. C.; (81) *The Guardian*, C. H.; (82) *The Very Woman*, or *The Woman's Plot*, T. C. These were published in one volume as Massinger's, 1655. Moseley also entered as Massinger's (48) *Philenzo and Hippolito*, C.; (73) *The Spanish Viceroy*, or *The Honor of Women*, C.; (75) *Minerva's Sacrifice*, or *The Forced Lady*, T.; (77) *Believe as you list*, C.

(extant in MS.); (83) *The Noble Choice*, or *The Orator*, T. C.: all these five and *The Woman's Plot* were among the MSS. destroyed by Warburton's servant. Also (78) *The Italian Nightpiece*, or *The unfortunate Piety*, T.; (53) *The Wandering Lovers*, or *The Painter*, C.; (87) *The Prisoner*, or *The Fair Anchoress* [of *Pausilippo*]: these three do not appear in the Warburton list. Also as by Fletcher and Shakespeare (15) *The History of Cardenio*.

79. *The City Madam*, C., 1658, 1659.

1660, Nov. 29, for H. Moseley as Massinger's. (49) *Antonio and Vallea*, C.; (77) *Believe as you list*, cf. 1653; (85) *The Tyrant*, T.; (76) *Taste and Welcome*, C.: all four in Warburton's list. Also as W. Rowley's (67), *The Parliament of Love*, C. (also ascribed to him in Warburton's list, but extant in MS., and certainly Massinger's). Also as by Beaumont and Fletcher, (82?) *A right Woman*, cf. 1653.

(72) *The Judge*, C., and (86) *Alexias*, or *The Chaste Gallant*, T., are in Warburton's list as Massinger's, but do not appear in Moseley's entries.

The second Fletcher Folio was issued 1679; it added to the 1647 edition the plays that had been printed in Quarto, *Dram. Pers.*, and actor-lists to many plays.

John Fletcher, the eldest of this group of authors, son of Richard Fletcher, then minister of Rye, in Sussex, was baptized at Rye 1579, Dec. 20. He was entered as pensioner of Bene't College, Cambridge, 1591, Oct. 15, as "of London," when his father, then High Almoner and Bishop of Bristol, had also a London residence; and was a Bible clerk in 1593. His father, by will 1593, Oct. 29, left his books to be equally divided between him and his elder brother Theophilus. Richard Fletcher, then Bishop of Worcester, died 1596, June 15, in debt to the Exchequer. No doubt

John Fletcher's University career was then interrupted, but nothing more is known of him till he became a play-maker, c. 1608.

Francis Beaumont, third son of Judge Beaumont of Grace Dieu, in Leicestershire, was admitted gentleman commoner of Broadgates Hall, Oxford, 1597, Feb. 4, at the age of 12; he was therefore born between 1584 Feb. and 1585 Feb. He was "13 years or more" when his father died, 1598, April 22. He then left Oxford, and became a member of the Inner Temple 1600, Nov. 3. There is no direct ground beyond the S. R. entry, 1639, Sept. 2, by Laurence Blaucllock for assigning *Salmacis and Hermaphrodite* to "Francis Beaumont;" it was published in 1602 by J. Hodgetts, without any author's name, with verses commendatory by W. B[arksted?], J. B[eumont], and A. F.; but the publisher also published Beaumont's first play, the only one written for the Paul's boys 1607, and the verses by J. B. look as if Beaumont was the author; and if, as Dramaticus (Sh. Soc. *papers*, iii.) says, Blaucllock printed from the 1602 edition and not from a MS., how came he to enter the book in S. R. at all? On the other hand, he certainly did include in it as Beaumont's many poems by at least eight other authors, and the S. R. entry may have been necessitated by the addition of these, though it does not mention them; and though Hodgetts published *The Woman Hater*, it was entered for Edgar and Jackson. On the whole, we are driven to rely on internal evidence, and this, I think, is against Beaumont's authorship.

In 1607 both Beaumont and Fletcher prefixed verses to Jonson's *Volpone*, and before this their meetings at the Mermaid must have taken place, probably in the same year. "What things have we seen done at the Mermaid," says Master Francis Beaumont in his "*Letter to Ben Jonson*," written

before he and Master Fletcher came to London with two of the precedent comedies [1647 folio], then not finished, which deferred their merry meetings at the Mermaid." This letter was written soon after the outburst of "Sutcliffe's wit" in 1606. Sutcliffe published three tracts in that year. The unfinished plays may have been *Four plays in One* and *Love's Cure*. Jonson had left the King's men on account of the offence given by *Volpone*, and was now connected with the Revels boys at Blackfriars, to whom he no doubt introduced Beaumont and Fletcher in 1608. Marston had left writing after the *Eastward Ho* troubles in 1605, and Chapman was hiding on account of *Byron*. They continued to write for these boys till 1609 (in which year Beaumont wrote his *Elegy on Lady Markham*), and for Rossiter's new company in 1610; but in the autumn of 1610 Shakespeare left writing for the King's men, and Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher succeeded him c. Sept. They remained with the King's men till 1613, Feb., when Beaumont wrote his *mask* for the Lady Elizabeth's marriage, and retired from writing for the stage on account, I think, of his own marriage to Ursula, daughter of Henry Isley of Sundridge, Kent. During this time he wrote verses prefixed to Jonson's *Epicæne* (S. R. 1610, Sept. 20), and to his *Catiline* 1611, to which Fletcher also prefixed some verses; his *Elegy on the Countess of Rutland*, who died 1612, Aug., and whom, while alive, he had addressed in verse; and his *Elegy on Lady Penelope Clifton*, who died 1613, Oct. 26. He died 1616, Mar. 6, and was buried in Westminster Abbey Mar. 9, leaving two daughters, Elizabeth and Frances (a posthumous child). Jonson, and after him H. Moseley, say that he was not 30 when he died; but he must have been 31.

Philip, son of Arthur Massinger, who was a gentleman

in the service of Henry Earl of Pembroke, was born 1584 at Salisbury, and was probably brought up as a page to the Countess. He was entered at St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, 1602, May 14, at the expense of the new Earl William; (Henry Herbert died 1601, Jan. 19). In 1606 he left Oxford, perhaps at the death of his father, but more likely from having become a Roman Catholic, for he took no degree, although he had ample time for doing so.

Nathaniel Field, son of John Field, preacher (the virulent reviler of stage plays), was baptized at St. Giles without Cripplegate 1587, Oct. 17. He was the youngest of a family of seven, one of whom was Theophilus Field, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff. The father, John Field, was buried in the same church 1588, Mar. 26. Nathaniel, son of John Field, clerk, deceased, was bound to Ralph Jackson, stationer, 1597, Feb. 7, for eight years from Michaelmas 1596 (S. R., ii. 215). He was educated under Mulcaster at Merchant Taylors' School, but before 1600 was "taken" by N. Giles to act as one of the Chapel children (see my *History of the Stage*, p. 128). He was their chief actor at Blackfriars in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, 1600; *The Poetaster*, 1601; and also for the [second] Queen's Revels boys (a continuation of the same company) in his *Epicæne*, 1609-10. He must have acted in such Beaumont and Fletcher plays as the first Queen's Revels boys produced 1608-9. In 1609 he prefixed verses to one of these, *The Faithful Shepherdess*. He published his own play, *A Woman is a Weathercock*, 1611, Nov. 23, with verses by Chapman, which tell us that—

"To many forms as well as many ways
Thy active muse turns like thy acted woman ;"

and addressing the reader, he says, "Thou knowest where

to hear of me for a year or two and no more, I assure thee." This is explained by his admission to the freedom of the Stationers' Company 1611, June 3 (S. R., iii. 683). He meant to turn publisher. He did not do that yet; nor did he follow Fletcher to the King's men in 1611, but remained in Rossiter's company till their junction with Henslow's, 1613, Mar.

Fletcher, Massinger, Field, and Daborne (*q.v.*) were writing for the Lady Elizabeth's men under Henslow 1613 (*Variorum*, iii. 337, xxi. 404), when Field, c. Aug., wrote to "Father Hinchlow" for a loan of £10, "being taken on an execution of £30." Daborne and Massinger also required to be bailed, and Field could not "play any more till this be despatched." The three asked for a joint loan of £5 on a play "of Mr. Fletcher and ours,"¹ and got it. I suppose Field got his £10 also, as they could not well play without him. He acted in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* 1614, Oct. 31, for the Lady Elizabeth's men, into which the Duke of York's had been absorbed; but in *Amends for Ladies* their title appears in full as "The Prince's servants and the Lady Elizabeth's." This was acted at Rossiter's new theatre at Blackfriars 1615 (see my *History of the Stage*, p. 263); on 1616, Jan. 9, Henslow died; and as Field was not one of the players who came to an agreement with Alleyn on Mar. 20 (Collier's *Alleyn*, p. 129), he doubtless left the company for the King's c. Feb., accompanied by Jonson, Fletcher, and Massinger as playwrights. In 1616 (*Domestic Papers*, No. 334) Field wrote his letter of remonstrance to M. Sutton, preacher at St. Mary Overy, Field's parish. He acted in *The Queen of*

¹ Massinger and Daborne still owed £3 to Henslow 1615, July 4, and gave a bond to him for that amount (Collier's *Alleyn*, p. 121). Compare Daborne. This document was not known to Malone.

Corinth, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Knight of Malta*, and *The Mad Lover*, for the King's men, 1616-19, and wrote for them also in conjunction with Fletcher and Massinger. His stage career closes simultaneously with Burbadge's, their names last appearing in the patent, dated 1619, Mar. 27, but drawn up earlier, for Burbadge died Mar. 16. I infer that Field was disappointed at Taylor's being imported as Burbadge's successor, and retired disgusted. He had recently married; his first child was baptized at St. Anne and St. Andrew's, Blackfriars, 1619, Sept. 9.

In S. R., 1624, Dec. 31; 1625, April 5; 1626, Sept. 18; 1627, Dec. 19, entries to N. Field of his brother 'Theophilus' writings occur; and 1627, Nov. 9, *Hippolito and Isabella* was entered for N. Field, published (with verses by Chapman) by N. Field and T. Harper 1628. Chapman's *Justification of Nero* was published by Harper alone in 1629. I think Field had then disposed of the business to him. Field died 1633, Feb. 20. He had been Jonson's "scholar, and he had read to him [which is he and which him?] the *Satires of Horace* and several *Epigrams of Martial*" (*Conversations with Drummond*).

During 1619 and part of 1620 Fletcher and Massinger went on writing for the King's men; but in 1620-1 Massinger was altering old Dekker plays for the Revels men at the Bull, and Fletcher writing without a partner. Middleton and Rowley then went to the King's men, and Massinger also returned to them in 1622, but in 1623 left them for the Lady Elizabeth's men, with whom he remained till after Fletcher died of the plague, 1625, Aug., and was buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark, Aug. 29. Massinger returned immediately to the King's company, and continued to write for them till his death. He was buried in the

same grave with Fletcher 1639, Mar. 18. He had resided on the bankside.

As a supplement to Massinger's later career I give the names of his patrons, derived from his dedications, in chronological order:—

1623, Jan. 20. Lady Catharine, wife of Philip L. Stanhope, Baron of Shelford. *The Duke of Milan*. He mentions his misfortunes.

1624, Mar. 12. Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery. *The Bondman*. Arthur Massinger had served the Herberts. Montgomery and the public had praised this play.

1629. Sir Philip Knyvet, Bart.; Sir Thomas Jeay, Knight; and Thomas Bellingham, of Newtimber, Sussex. *The Roman Actor*. "My only supporters" in this play; "the most perfect birth of my Minerva."

1630. The Society of the Inner Temple. *The Picture*.

1630, Mar. 22. George Harding, Baron Berkeley. *The Renegado*.

1631, Nov. 19. John Lord Mohun, Baron of Okehamp-ton. *The Emperor of the East*. Uncle of Aston Cockaine.

1632, Jan. 6. Sir Francis Foljambe, Bart., and Sir Thomas Bland. *The Maid of Honor*. "I had not to this time subsisted" but for your "courtesies and favors."

1632, Nov. 10. Robert Earl of Carnarvon. *A new way to pay old debts*.

1635, Dec. 7. Sir Robert Wiseman, of Thorrell's Hall, Essex. *The Great Duke of Florence*. "For many years I had but faintly subsisted if I had not often tasted of your bounty."

1639, Feb. 14. Antony Sentleger, of Oakham, Kent. *The Unnatural Combat*. Had held converse with Sir Warham S., Antony's father.

Massinger wrote verses for Shirley's *Grateful Servant*

1630; "to his son J[ames] S[mith]" on his *Minerva*, and to Foljambe, with *The Maid of Honor*, 1632; and to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, *on the death of his son Charles*, 1635.

Before considering the plays some important notes require attention.

1. Beaumont's name appears on the title-page of no play published in his life-time.

2. When the 1679 Fletcher Folio was published all the previously issued Quartos were included; and to those previously published in 1647 lists of chief actors, where possible, were added. These lists necessarily include nearly every play acted by the King's men, and one or two others. The names had been probably supplied by Fletcher himself.

3. The use of Prologues and Epilogues must be carefully noted. The fashion of using them fluctuated a good deal, and in late Quartos they are often wrongly ascribed.

4. The limits of date of Herbert's office-books are important. We have complete extracts from 1623 May to 1625 Feb. made by Chalmers; and extracts, apparently complete, by Malone (from 1622 May onwards) for Fletcher, Beaumont, and Massinger.

5. The character of Court performances is important. Some were of new plays, some of revivals.

6. The division into scenes may prove valuable as a means of investigating dates; but having in many instances only modern reprints to work from, I have not been able to use it for every author. I have in the present instance noted the plays so divided.

7. In this more than in any other instance is the use of metrical tests necessary to separate the authors' parts in the various plays. As I have long ago published data sufficient for the purpose in the N. S. S. *Transactions* for

1874 [these papers are mine, although in the later lists of their publications my name as author has been, without my consent, omitted], I shall not give the particulars here. It will suffice to say that every play that I have read by any author has been metrically analysed by me, and the results used where needful. Some persons have used these tests to *determine* authorship, which procedure I regard as a species of monomania. The use of such tests is only effective in primarily determining the fact that there is a twofold authorship, and, secondarily, determining (when the authors have, on other evidence, been ascertained) what shares in the work are to be assigned to each author. The immense mass of detail accumulated by me on this matter is certainly not desirable for publication here, nor will it probably ever be published; but it will possibly be useful for reference, and I may say that in the margin of every play in my own library it is thus marked: all lines with female or Fletcher ending are indicated by a *point* (.) ; all rhymes by a *brace* (; all weak endings by a *tick* ✓ ; all alexandrines by a 12 ; all short lines by 2, 4, 6, 8, &c., indicating the number of syllables; and all extra mid-line syllables by a *plus* + ; Rowley or French lines (neglecting accent) I have also marked with a *tick* ✓. I trust that after my death these books may be kept together for referential use by specialists in this matter. This digression is beyond my proper subject, and I apologise for it; but it is not a long one. Metrical tests other than these I have not found useful.

1. *The Woman Hater*, C., S. R. 1607, May 20 (or *The Hungry Courtier*, 1649), was "lately acted by the children of Pauls," probably their last play. The date of production was probably Easter 1607 (Easter Sunday fell on April 5), for "a favorite on the sudden" seems to be a palpable

allusion to the favour shown to Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset; and this began at a tilt in which Sir T. Dingwall and James Lord Hay took part. This was the tilt of 1607, Mar. 24 (*Nichols*, iii. 1076); it is wrongly dated in all the histories I have by me. "Another inundation," iii. 1, alludes, I think, to the "second deluge" of 1607, Jan. 20. The source of the plot is Jovius, *De Romanis Piscibus*, cap. v. No author's name was given in 1607; but the Prologue gives it a single author, "*he that made it.*" This author was Beaumont, as the metrical evidence proves; Fletcher would have put his name on the title. In 1648 his name was wrongly put forth as the author; but in 1649 Beaumont also appears in conjunction with it still more absurdly, for in a Prologue by Davenant "at a revival of the play" of unknown date but by the King's men, a single author, who had chief share in the three Blackfriars tragedies, *Philaster*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, and *A King and no King*, is expressly mentioned. This, of course, was Beaumont, though what Davenant means by "full twenty years he wore the bays" I cannot tell. Fletcher wrote for the stage eighteen years at most, and Beaumont seven. Should we read vii. for xx.? or did he mistake Beaumont's work for Fletcher's? The Epilogue in the 1649 edition was written for an altered play; therefore not for this one, which was not refashioned. It appears again with *The Noble Gentleman* (q.v.). This shows that no dependence can be placed on statements in these late Quartos after Massinger's death, 1639, c. Mar. 18. Compare *Wit without Money*, *The Bloody Brother*, *The Wildgoose Chase*, *The Faithful Friends*, &c.

2. *The Faithful Shepherdess*, P. T. C., was published by Bonian and Whalley, undated, but with a dedication to Sir W. Skipwith, who died 1610, May 3. I find these publishers' names conjoined in S. R. from 1608, Dec. 22, to

1609, Sept. 1, and have therefore no doubt that *The F. S.* was published in 1609. Moreover, Field in his commendatory verses speaks of his muse as in swathing-clouts, and his first play, as we shall see, was acted in 1609; and in Fletcher's dedication to Sir W. Aston (there is yet another dedication to Sir R. Townsend) he mentions "the infection," which of late has silenced plays. The plague closed the theatres from 1608, July 28, to 1609, Nov. 30, except for a few days in 1608, Dec. This play was therefore acted before 1608, July, and so Jonson in his *Conversations*, xii., 1618 c. Dec., "Fletcher and Beaumont ten years since hath written *The Faithful Sheperdess*, a tragi-comedy. Well done." And yet it was published as "by John Fletcher," and with verses to him by Field, *Beaumont*, Chapman, and Jonson. There is not a trace of external evidence that Beaumont had a hand in the writing beyond Jonson's statement, and yet, again, the internal evidence of metre so strongly confirms it that I have no doubt on the matter. Beaumont's dislike to have his name published as a playwright is quite enough to explain its absence in the title and presence in these verses. That he had such a dislike is clear from the fact that up to his death his name never appeared in print as a play-author, but immediately after his burial it occurs abundantly. *The Woman Hater* was evidently published by the company, not by himself. Let us listen to his own words in his lines to Fletcher:—

"These public things and I agree
So ill that, but to do a right to thee,
I had not been persuaded to have hurled
These few ill-spoken lines into the world."

Note that all these writers of commendatory verses were connected with and writing for the Queen's Revels children in 1608–9, and there will be small doubt that this play

also was written for them and that Field acted in it. It passed, like *The Woman Hater*, or rather like *The Scornful Lady*, into the hands of the King's men, who acted it 1634, Jan. 6, before the King and Queen at Denmark House, with scenes by Inigo Jones, in the clothes the Queen had given Taylor the year before of her own *Pastoral*. Davenant wrote the *Dialogue* between a Priest and a Nymph used for a Prologue, and Lady Mary Mordaunt spoke the Epilogue. It was afterwards acted [Query with the scenes?] at Blackfriars. . *The Scourge of Folly*, Epigram 206, by J. Davies of Hereford, S. R. 1610, Oct. 8, mentions this play, which is a rival rather than an imitation of Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. The 1634 edition has verses by S. Marmion. The charge of 6d. at private theatres is alluded to in Jonson's verses 1609. It was badly received then, but not so in 1634.

3. *Four plays* (or moral representations) *in one* was, in my opinion, also acted in 1608, and by the same company. *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, acted 1605, was published S. R. 1608, May 2, as "one of *The Four plays in one*," as if to delude the unwary purchaser into the belief that he was buying one of the plays then being performed. The Induction, with its satire on Citizens, is very like other plays acted by these boys. Compare, for instance, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. The shares of Beaumont and Fletcher herein are singularly independent, and the marked difference of their metrical forms afforded me the starting-point for the separation of their work in all these plays in 1874, which was till then regarded universally as an insoluble problem. *The Induction*, *The Triumph of Honor*, or *Diana* (founded on Boccaccio's *Decameron*, x. 5), and *The Triumph of Love*, or *Cupid* (founded also on the *Decameron*, v. 7), are by Beaumont. *The Triumph of Death* (founded on Ban-

dello's first novel (cf. *Palace of Pleasure*, Nov. 40, and *The Fortunate Deceived and Unhappy Lovers*, iii. 3), *The Triumph of Time* (founded on Lucian's *Timon*, or *Misanthropos*, in my judgment, although Dyce follows Langbaine in ascribing it to the author's own invention), and *The Epilogue* are by Fletcher. *The Triumph of Time*, acted by the Admiral's men at the Rose 1597, April 13, may have been the immediate origin of Fletcher's sub-play, for Heywood translated this dialogue of Lucian's in a presentable shape.

4. *Love's Cure*, or *The Martial Maid*, C. The Prologue at a revival after 1625 expressly assigns the original authorship to Beaumont and Fletcher; the Epilogue mentions "our author," i.e., the reformer of the play for the revival. The original date of production can be determined by internal evidence. In i. 3, Alvarez has had twenty years of sorrow; in i. 2, Lucio, born just after Alvarez' departure, is 20; in i. 1, Alvarez is 16 years before he takes Clara to the siege of Ostend, 1601 June–1604 Aug. This makes the date of action, which is, no doubt, as usual in plays where such chronological calculations are introduced, the date of writing the play, 1606–8. The Fletcher part is so worked over by Massinger, who was certainly the maker of the reformation, as to be inseparable, unless in detailed notes; but Beaumont's hand is manifest in i. 3, iii. 5, v. 3; and iii. 2*a* is clearly by Fletcher. It was, in my opinion, acted originally by the Revels boys in 1607–8, and passed in natural course to Queen Henrietta's men, for whom Massinger must have revised it after 1625, Nov. 17, when the plague fell below 40, and before 1626, Jan 22, when he had rejoined the King's men. The allusion, ii. 2, to "the cold Muscovite who lay here lieger in the last great frost," of course, is Massinger's; but the allusions to

Ostend in i. 1; the miraculous maiden of Confolens, 1604, in ii. 1; the use of the name Lazarillo, as in *The Woman Hater*, 1607; Don Blirt the constable, "the politic Diego," 1602, in iii. 1; and *The Honest Whore*, 1604, in v. 3, all belong to the early form of the play, and were not disturbed by Massinger. I believe that this and *The four plays in one* were the plays that kept Beaumont and Fletcher in the country, as already noted in Beaumont's letter to Jonson. Had this play been written for the King's men it would have had an actor-list. The scenes are marked; probably by Massinger when he reformed the play.

5. *The Scornful Lady*, C., was published 1616, Mar. 19, as by Beaumont and Fletcher, and acted by the Queen's Revels children at Blackfriars, therefore not later than 1609. This title-page, immediately after Beaumont's death, and the earliest on which his name appears, is authoritative. Nor was the date earlier than 1609, for the Cleve wars are mentioned v. 3. This play passed to the King's men before 1625, and was acted by them 1633, Oct. 18, Shank taking the part of the Curate: *Historia Histrionica*. In i. 2, "this Apocrypha: bind it by itself" may allude to the Douay or the Authorised Versions, both of which were in progress and under discussion in 1609, and completed in 1610. I take the greater part of the play to be Fletcher's, but i. 1, v. 2, to be certainly Beaumont's. It is printed in a most corrupt form as regards metre, much verse being reduced to prose, and the rest incorrectly divided into lines in many places. There is a droll from it, *The False Heir and Formal Curate*, in *The Wits*, or *Sport upon Sport*, 1672.

6. *Monsieur Thomas* was acted at Blackfriars, but not by the King's men. It was published 1639, with dedica-

tion to Charles Cotton, by R. Brome, then writing for the Queen's men (Henrietta's) at Salisbury Court; it is also contained in their 1639 list as *The Father's own Son*, and a droll from it, under that later title, is printed in *The Wits*, 1672. Halliwell had the impudence or ignorance to reprint this in 1860 as a portion of "a lost play," and this trash must have been eagerly sought for by Shakespearian students, for I find a copy priced by Jarvis & Son at 15s. The play must have come down to the Queen's men from the Revels children, and the date of production been c. 1609. The title-page evidently is authoritative, and supplied by R. Brome. It names "the author, John Fletcher." The plot founded on Boccaccio's *Decameron* (last day), *Tito and Gisippo*. The Paul's boys acted a play (Anon. 4) of the same plot 1577, Feb. 17. When the play was first acted, "when Ignorance was judge," it was badly received. For the second title cf. iii. 2, "Who is he like? Yourself;" iv. 2, "Dat's mine own boy;" v. 10, "nown son again;" and for the ballads and songs, iii. 2, 3, iv. 2, 5, compare *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*.

7. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, C., was published 1613, with no author's name, but with a Dedication by Burre, the publisher, to R. Keysar, stating that he had had it these two years, and Keysar had it before him "while it was yet an infant;" also that it was above a year the elder of *Don Quixote*, i.e., of Shelton's translation entered S. R. 1611, Jan. 19, but dated on the printed copies 1612. In iv. 1, "Read the play of *The Four Prentices of London*" (q.v. under Heywood) shows that that play had been published; but that was in 1610, when the practice of arms in the Artillery Garden was revived. All this fixes the date of the play in 1610. It was, therefore, acted at Whitefriars. In *The Induction*, "this seven years there hath

been plays at this house; I have observed it; you have still girds at citizens," points to the previous occupants of that theatre, namely, the King's Revels boys, 1607-9, as Mr. Greenstreet's discovery, made since my *History of the Stage* was published, proves; and to their predecessors, who must have been the Paul's boys, who must, therefore, have acted there 1604-7, and not in their own singing-room, as usually supposed. The Queen's players had acted the play by 1635, and they had derived it in due course from the Queen's Revels boys (Rossiter's). It is one of the 1639 Cockpit list. In i. 2 the Wife asks Humfrey, "Were you never none of M. Moncaster's scholars?" *i.e.*, a Paul's boy before 1602. Dyce strangely refers this to Moncaster's earlier Merchant Taylors mastership, 1569-1586, which is out of all possible date. In iv. 1, the christening of the Sophy's child refers to *The travels of the three English Brothers*: so Dyce; but he did not see that the reference to this play produced at the Curtain, but here said to be acted at the Red Bull, implies a date not earlier than 1609. The "statute" in i. 1 dates 1609, Jan. 7. The child "so fair grown, &c.," iii. 2, is also referred to in Jonson's *Alchemist*, "six years old," v. 1, 1610. The hermaphrodite, iii. 2, was no doubt "the monstrous child" born 1609, July 31, at Sandwich (see S. R. 1609, Aug. 26, 31), which was probably shown in London 1609-10. In the 1635 edition the play is rightly assigned to Beaumont and Fletcher. It occurs in the 1639 list, and a droll from it called *The Encounter* (wrongly referred to *The Humorous Lieutenant*) is in *The Wits*, 1672. It was performed at Court (St. James') by Queen Henrietta's men 1636, Feb. 22, but was on the Cockpit stage in 1635, being mentioned as publicly acted in Brome's *Sparagus Garden*, ii. 2. The latest definite mark of original performance that I can find is in the songs

taken from Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia*, S. R. 1609, Oct. 12, "Nose, nose," i. 4; *John Dory*, ii. 4. There are many other songs from Dowland, Ravenscroft's *Pammelia*, 1609, &c., just as in *Monsieur Thomas*. These parts I would assign to Fletcher, as well as i. 1, 2; ii. 1, 2 (part), 4, 5 (part), 7; iii. 1; iv. 3, 4; v. 1; that is, all the scenes with Humphrey and Merrythought's songs, while Beaumont wrote the parts with Ralph and Mrs. Merry-thought; but in many scenes both hands are discernible, and an exact analysis could only be made in an annotated edition. Among the indications of close approximation to *M. Thomas* is the reference to the Spaniards at Bow, ii. 2 (cf. *M. Thomas*, iii. 3), and this is surely by Fletcher. The second title, *The London Merchant*, in the Induction makes it likely that the play entered as Ford's S. R. 1660, June 29 (*q.v.*), was only a revival of the present one. The received opinion that this play was directed merely against the chivalry romances is far too narrow; it is satirical throughout, especially of Monday's translation of *Palmerin d'Oliva*, i. 3, and *The Mirror of Knighthood*, i. 3, iii. 2, but also of contemporary plays; e.g., of Prince Henry's men at the Fortune (*Whittington*, S. R. 1604, Feb. 8, and Peele's *Edward 1*; in the Induction), of Derby's men (Heywood's *If you know not me*, and his *Jane Shore*, or *Edward 4*; also of *The Bold Beauchamps*; in the Induction), and of the King's men (Shakespeare's 1 *Henry 4*, [Lodge's] *Mucedorus*, and Kyd's *Jeronymo*; in the Induction); in fact, of all the companies acting at the public theatres, for Heywood had probably revived his Derby's plays at the Bull for Queen Anne's men, and one of these, *The Four Prentices*, is not only satirised in the Induction, but mentioned by name in iv. 1. The Prince of Moldavia of Jonson's *Epicene*, v. 1 (cf. "King of Moldavia," iv. 2), on whom Weber wrote such nonsense, and of whom Dyce says "nothing is known," was

with the Turkish Ambassador at the English Court 1607, Nov. (see *Nichols*, ii. 157). The Prologue, published in 1635, belongs to Lyly's *Sappho*.

8. *A Woman is a Weathercock*, C., by N. Field, was acted before the King at Whitehall before 1611, Nov. 23, when it was entered S. R., therefore almost certainly during Christmastide 1610-11, and publicly (of course before this) by the Queen's Revels children (Rossiter's) at Whitefriars. It dates, therefore, 1610. There are allusions to Kyd's *Hicronimo* in i. 1 and i. 2. There are three allusions to the Cleve wars in i. 2—they began in 1609; to lusty "Lawrence of Lancashire" in v. 2 (compare *The late Lancashire Witches*); to the 1609 plague in ii. 1. The commendatory verses by Jonson have been already mentioned. Jonson was, of course, pleased at Field's following his example in keeping the unity of time; see the final lines of the play. In his "address to any woman that hath been no weathercock" Field promises his *Amends for Ladies* as his next play.

9. *The Coxcomb* was acted before Prince Henry, Lady Elizabeth, and the Palatine 1612, Oct. [16-24] (see my *History of the Stage*, p. 175), and in 1613 [Jan.] before the King (according to Oldys) by the Queen's Revels children under Rossiter. But the actors-list prefixed to the play must date before 1611, Aug. 29, for Cary and Barkstead, who appear in it, and who had always till then been Revels boys, at that date joined the L. Elizabeth's men under Foster. In 1611 we shall find Beaumont and Fletcher fully occupied for the King's men; the play must therefore be assigned to 1610, after Mar. 30, at which date Taylor belonged to the Duke of York's. Field and he were the chief actors in this play. The copy we have is that of a revival in 1636, when it was acted at Hampton Court Nov. 17. It had been "condemned for its length,"

but "that fault's reformed," says the Prologue, evidently by Massinger, and written for a Court performance ("your noble censures" and "before such judges" indicate this), but that it was on the public stage in 1621 I have no doubt (see *The Spanish Gipsy*, ii. 1, iv. 2, and specially ii. 2, "Wilt thou ever play the coxcomb?"). Massinger was then writing for the Lady Elizabeth's men, and then, I think, the alteration was made. Had it been in 1636 the play would have been mentioned in Herbert's register. Mr. Oliphant has suggested to me that this was the *Taste and Welcome* of S. R. 1660, June 17, and destroyed by Warburton's servant (cf. the "dish cooked with care" in the Prologue). There is no *Taste and Welcome* in Herbert, but see *The Emperor of the East* further on. A relic of the original play exists in "The Scene England, France" of the 1679 Folio. As the play now stands, the scene is, if in any definite country, in Spain. Two original authors are implied in the Prologue—of course Beaumont and Fletcher. Beaumont's part is i. 3, ii. 4. Massinger's alterations are most extensive in i. 1, 2*a*; iii. 1*a*, 2; iv. 4; v. 1, 3, which are nearly rewritten. The lower strata of Fletcher's work crop out all through, but the main part now extant is Massinger's.

10. *Cupid's Revenge*, published 1615, April 24 (before Beaumont's death), as by J. Fletcher, but in 1630 as by Beaumont and Fletcher (rightly), was acted by the children of the Queen's Revels (Rossiter's) 1612, Jan. 5, before Prince Henry and the Princess Elizabeth; on 1613, Jan. 1, before the King; and 1624, Dec. 28, by the Queen of Bohemia's men at Whitehall, before Prince Charles and the Duke of Brunswick. It occurs in the 1639 Cockpit list, and was, for reasons similar to those for the immediately preceding plays, originally produced at Whitefriars in 1610. It is founded on Sidney's *Arcadia*. There is a droll founded

on it, *The Loyal Citizens*, in *The Wits*, 1672 (wrongly said to be from *Philaster*). This play has palpably been altered; of course for the Court performances 1612-13, while Beaumont and Fletcher were with the King's men. Mr. Oliphant thinks by Massinger, I suppose by Field, possibly by Daborne. I cannot trace Massinger quite so early, nor is the alteration made in his careful way; the metre is broken and irregular. However this may be, the play is so instructive as to the manner in which those recastings were performed that I shall give an analysis of one important evidence in detail. The original plot had a king, queen, and prince, who were imperfectly altered into a duke, duchess, and marquis. This king and queen were probably too wicked to be presented at Court under those names. I write B. for Beaumont, F. for Fletcher. The broken careless lines throughout (frequently divided wrongly by Dyce) are characteristic of Field; but where the metre distinctly shows that an alteration has been made from a monosyllable to a dissyllable, I will write altered (alt.) after the altered word.

B. i. 1*a*, princess, duke, marquis, duke, duchess (alt.), king, royal.

F. i. 1*b*, duke, duke.

F. i. 2, duke, kingdom.

B. i. 3, princess, king.

B. i. 4, marquis, princess, prince, kingdom, royal, king, prince, duke.

B. ii. 1, kingdom, prince.

B. ii. 2, prince, prince, duke, prince, duke, sovereign, king, prince, kingdom, prince, prince, prince.

B. ii. 3, dukedom.

B. ii. 4, duke, princess, duke.

B. ii. 5, duke.

- F. ii. 6, duke, highness, king, queen, kingdom.
 B. iii. 1, king, prince, queen.
 B. iii. 2, king, queen, duke, prince, king, duchess, king, duke, king.
 F. iii. 3, duke, prince, duchess.
 F. iii. 4, duchess, kingly, kingdom, prince, prince, duke, kingdom, prince, duke, king.
 F. iv. 1, duke, king, marquis (alt.), dukedom, prince, king, dukedom, duke.
 F. iv. 2, duchess, duke, duke, king, duke, highness.
 "Fortune, Fate" in Bache's first speech are alternative readings, another sign of alteration.
 F. iv. 3, duke, king, prince.
 B. iv. 4, prince, his grace, kingdom, prince, prince, royal.
 B. v. 1, grace, prince, grace, marquis (alt.); last speech by Fletcher.
 B. v. 2, king, prince, prince, prince, king, duke, prince, prince; bits by Fletcher.
 B. v. 3.
 B. and F. v. 4, prince, duke, highness, prince, queen, duke, prince.

This list may not be exhaustive, but it makes it clear that wherever prince or queen are required by the metre the original has been left unaltered; and also the use of marquis and duchess is limited to the third hand, since the other words are necessarily true readings in many passages that are unmistakably some Beaumont's, some Fletcher's. But the corrector, or rather the condenser, has been at work in almost every scene.

Beaumont and Fletcher now left the Revels boys for the King's men, c. Sept.

11. *Philaster*, or *Love lies a bleeding*, published 1620

(rightly) as by Beaumont and Fletcher, was acted by the King's men at the Globe before 1610, Oct. 8, when Davies' *Scourge of Folly* was entered S. R., for *Epigram* 206 is made on it, and addressed to Fletcher—an additional proof that Beaumont in his lifetime was not known as a play-author. It was acted twice at Court 1612-13, before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Palatine; and I suspect the absurd alterations of the beginning and the end of the play in the 1620 edition were made for that occasion. A droll on it, *The Clubmen* (wrongly assigned to *Cupid's Revenge*) occurs in *The Wits*, 1672. Fletcher wrote i. 1; v. 3, 4. The rest is by Beaumont. The transposition of the characters of Megra and a Lady in i. 1 shows distinctly that this scene was not written by the author of i. 2-iv. 2.

12. *The two Noble Kinsmen*, T. C., entered S. R. 1634, April 3, for John Waterson, as "by J. Fletcher and W. Shakespeare," and published as by those "memorable worthies of their time." From 1626 to 1639 Waterson published plays, and whenever he enters the author's name does so correctly. It seems certain that in this instance he honestly repeated the information given him. But who gave it? Hemings and Condell, the Shakespeare Folio editors, had been dead some years. The only King's actors surviving from Shakespeare's time were Lowin and Robinson, neither of whom appear to have anything to do with publication of old plays. Judging from the other plays published by Waterson 1631-7, I think it was Massinger who sent it to press, and had it been partly written by him he would have claimed his share in it. But it was published without dedication and without Massinger's name in any way. Mr. Boyle, in his papers written "to test the correctness of Fleay's tables," and to claim "Mr. Bullen's and my own work at Day and Wilkens" [*sic*, though Day and

Martin's would have been more apposite], claims much of the play for Massinger on metrical grounds. But the primary tests of historic evidence and poetic power refute this hypothesis, although the N. S. S. paper is so plausibly got up that for a time I was completely taken in by it. See my *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 254. That Fletcher wrote ii. 2, 3, 4, 5 [which Dyce wrongly calls ii. 1b, 2, 3, 4]; iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; iv. 1, 2; v. 1 (l. 1-17), 2, is now universally acknowledged; but as to the rest, much will depend on the date of production. It is claimed as a "new play" in the Prologue, evidently Fletcher's, and at a time "when, if this play do not keep A little dull time from us, we perceive Our losses fall so thick we needs must leave." What time and what company does this refer to? The absence of the play in Herbert's licensing list implies a date before 1622, May; but had it been then known to be Shakespeare's (and if known in 1634, surely it would be known in 1622) it would have been published in the Folio 1623 by Hemings and Condell; there was no copyright to hinder them, as in the cases of *Pericles* and *Edward 3*. The copy used was a stage copy; in i. 3 there are stage directions for i. 4, "2 hearses ready with Palamon and Arcite: the 3 Queens, Theseus, and his Lords ready;" in iii. 5, "Knock for Schoolm[aster]," omitted by Dyce; this latter occurs in the Fletcher part, the former not so. Hence I think the whole play as it now stands was written for the original performance, and was not completed or revived by Fletcher near the end of his career, as Dyce suggests. One Curtis—*i.e.*, Curtis Greville—acted the messenger iv. 2. Greville does not appear as a King's man till 1626; his name is not in the 1625 patent. The play was not then originally acted in 1625, as I once supposed. In 1622 Greville's name appears in the Lady Elizabeth's and in the Palsgrave's lists

as a sharer ; at an earlier date, when he would be likely to take the unimportant part of messenger, we have no record of him. T. Tucke, of whom I know nothing further, and Curtis appear in v. 3. But, on the other hand, the divided scenes and the line iv. 2, "Thou art a changeling to him, a mere gipsy," which surely was written after *The Changeling* and *The Spanish Gipsy* were produced in 1621, point to a late revival. Much more important is the fact that the publisher regarded the play as Shakespeare's, and therefore must have dated it as c. 1610 at the latest. I have vacillated so much in my opinion as to this authorship, and the verdicts of Lamb, Coleridge, Hallam, Darley, &c., have so much weight, that it is with great diffidence that I give the following hypothesis, the chief merit of which is that it agrees with all the known facts. Fletcher and Beaumont wrote the play for the King's men c. 1611; in 1623 Hemings and Condell knew that it was not Shakespeare's; after this, but before Fletcher's death, it was revised slightly and acted by the King's men; but in 1634 they knew not whose the second hand was, and guessed Shakespeare merely from the date of original license. Beaumont, as I have repeatedly pointed out, did not want to be known as a playwright, and in the Prologue Fletcher accordingly speaks only of "a writer." The inaccurate text certainly points to an old date, as if it had been copied and recopied. This hypothesis satisfies the external evidence; as to the internal, the weak endings are as much like Beaumont as Massinger, and Dyce has pointed out one similarity with Beaumont's work which to me is very strong evidence :—

"Drink to him, carve him, give him compliment" (*Remedy of Love*).

"Carve her, drink to her, and still among intermingle your petition
of grace and acceptance into her favor" (iv. 5).

This use of "carve" is not common. One thing is quite cer-

tain. Chapman, put forward by Knight, and Massinger by Boyle, had no share in the authorship; and if Beaumont did not write it, it is beyond the reach of any one else but Shakespeare. Yet the external evidence is, I think, insuperable against Shakespeare. The Bavian (Batavian) of iii. 5 is surely the same as the "strange Indian" of *Henry 8*, v. 3, 1613, and the "Cataian of strange nature" of *Ram Alley*, c. 1609.

13. *A King and no King* was published 1608, Aug. 7, with Blount the publisher's dedication to Sir Henry Neville, who had provided the copy, as by Beaumont and Fletcher (rightly). Herrick attributes the "plot" to Fletcher. Earle, in his verses written 1616, just after Beaumont's death, assigns *Bessus*, *Philaster*, and *The Maid's Tragedy* to Beaumont, which, if we take him to mean in the main and not in absolute entirety, is certainly true. Fletcher's share in this play is confined to iv. 1 (part), 2, 3; v. 1 (part), 2, 3. It was "allowed" by Buck in 1611. "Mandane" in stage direction ii. 1, not occurring elsewhere, looks as if this were printed from an author's copy. It was acted before the King 1611, Dec. 26, and before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Palatine 1612-13.

14. *The Maid's Tragedy* was published without authors' names 1619; again, slightly "enlarged," i.e., with fuller restoration of omitted passages, in 1622; and as by Beaumont and Fletcher (rightly) in 1630. That it was licensed in 1611 c. Oct. is evident from Buck's superscription to *The Usurping Tyrant* (q.v.), as "this second Maiden's Tragedy," 1611, Oct. 31. There is a droll on it, *The Testy Lord*, in *The Wits*, 1672. It was acted before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Palatine 1612-13. I think the Mask was then inserted (compare Shakespeare's *Tempest*): for the "floods fuller and higher than you have

wished for" can hardly be referred to those of 1607, and as they, with their accompanying storms and wrecks, appear to allude to actual facts, I feel obliged to connect them with the storms of 1612, Oct.—Dec., and the floods that followed thereafter. I even venture to conjecture that this mask was originally written for the marriage of Lord Walden and Earl Dunbar's daughter, which was interrupted 1612, Jan. 29, and that it was subsequently altered and inserted in this play. In this mask the copies have so singular a mistake that, although it be beyond my present scope, I must note it. "Another measure," which should follow the second song, has been printed "if not her measure," and inserted in the text, where Dyce finds a clear meaning in it. This, the insertion of "the third song" after instead of before "a measure, Neptune leading it," and the addition (restoration) of ten lines in a speech of Cynthia's in an earlier passage, prove that the mask had been subject to revision. Fletcher's part is only i. 2, iv. 1, v. 1, 2a, 3; the rest is Beaumont's. In i. 1, near the end a stage direction, "Cleon, Strato, Diphilus," marking the Lords who are to attend Lysippus, has got into the text. The copy was, then, probably one prepared for stage use—by the author (see *supra*).

15. *Love's Pilgrimage*, C., was "renewed" for the King's men 1635, Sept. 16, and acted at Hampton Court before the King and Queen 1636, Dec. 16. As a fee was exacted by Herbert, there must have been alteration in the play. This alteration was no doubt the transference of a considerable part of i. 1 from *The New Inn*, which had been hissed off the stage in 1629, and published in 1631. The alteration was, of course, made by Jonson. Malone says that this play and *The Nightwalker* are stated in Herbert's MS. to have been left imperfect by Fletcher and finished by Shirley.

This cannot be correct. Shirley "corrected," *i.e.*, altered, *The Nightwalker* for the Queen's men in 1633, but was not connected with the King's men till 1640. Weber gives the Herbert entry in full, and Shirley is not mentioned. We must either attribute the alteration to Jonson or suppose that these passages were part of the original play, and stolen by him for *The New Inn*, an hypothesis which I now abandon as untenable. Acts i., ii., iii. are certainly by Fletcher (with this exception); Acts iv., v. by another hand, perhaps Webster. But that the date of the original play was 1612 I have no doubt. There is no actor-list, as for all King's men's plays from 1613 to 1624 (except those published in Quarto); and on 1613, June 8, a play called *Cardenna* was acted before the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, and one called *Cardenno* before the King 1612-13. *The History of Cardenio* was entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, as by Fletcher and Shakespeare; therefore an early play of c. 1610-1613. All these were acted by the King's men, and are manifestly one and the same play. Now, in *Love's Pilgrimage*, ii. 3, we find that Leocadia was one of the Cardinas, and in the novel (Cervantes' *Las dos Doncellas*) on which the play is founded this name is spelled Cardenas and Cardona. Surely this is the Cardenna-Cardenno-Cardenio-Cardina-Cardena-Cardenas play originally named *The History of the Cardinas*. Caranza, an authority repeatedly appealed to in v. 5, was of an earlier time than *The New Inn*: "So had Caranza his," ii. 2. Rowl. Ashton, ii. 1, and Job Bacon, iv. 1, appear in the stage directions as actors. The scenes are marked; probably this was done at the revival.

16. *The Captain* was acted at Court 1612-13 before King James by the King's men, but not on May 20, as Oldys says. Here, as elsewhere, he mistakes the date of payment for that of presentation. But the version we have,

with its "scene Venice, Spain," is an altered version. Acts i. to iv. 3 are plainly enough by Fletcher, but the rest is not his as it stands, though probably altered from his work, as the Prologue (for Blackfriars, admission 12d.) mentions "the author." In iv. 3 Lusty Lawrence is mentioned, and rightly explained by Dyce; but see *The Woman's Prize*. A list of actors is given in 1679 F., the first for the King's men's plays. The scenes are marked also for the first time. In ii. 1 is a song enlarged from *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. I suppose the alterations were made for the Court performance, but by whom I know not. Was it Barnes? Fletcher, still following Jonson, now left the King's men. Beaumont left play-writing altogether in 1611, but in 1613 produced his *Masks*, viz., those inserted in *The Tempest* (q.v.) and *The Maid's Tragedy*, and

17. *The Mask of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, "presented to the King, Queen, Prince Charles, the Palatine, and Lady Elizabeth, 1613, Feb. 20, at the Lady Elizabeth's marriage," published S. R. 1613, Jan. [Feb.] 27, along with Chapman's, with dedication to Sir Francis Bacon. It was with special reference to these masks that Jonson said to Drummond "that, next himself, only Fletcher [Drummond's palpable mistake for Beaumont] could make a mask."

18. *The Honest Man's Fortune*, T. C., was "played in the year 1613" (MS. copy *apud* Dyce), and reallocated for the King's men, "the original being lost," 1625, Feb. 8. It was originally acted, as the actor-list proves, by the Lady Elizabeth's men after Rossiter's boys had joined them, 1613, Mar., for Taylor and Field were both performers in it. Malone and Dyce are mistaken in thinking it was acted at the Globe. In fact, the Globe had been burned on June 29, when this play was written (see Daborne) in July, and that fire was probably the occasion of Fletcher's leaving the

King's men and writing for another company. A comparison of dates, and the certainty (derived from metrical and other tests) that there were four hands engaged on it, leave no doubt that this was "the play of Mr. Fletcher and ours" which Daborne, Field, and Massinger were then writing. Massinger's share is i. 1, 2, 3; ii. 1; Daborne's, ii. 2, 3, 4; Field's, iii. 1, 2, 3; iv. 1, 2; and Fletcher's, v. 1, 2, 3. La Poop is a land-captain in ii. 2, "served once at the siege of Brest;" in iv. 1 "a sea-captain, you know." The ending in the 1625 MS. [by Field] is an alternative for that in the Folios [by Fletcher], and in many other places the versions differ. Future editions should (as in most other cases) take the earlier text as their basis. "The like story is related by Heywood in his *History of Women*, ix. 641," *Langbaine*. The publishing of Heywood's book probably caused the revival of the play. For its passing into the hands of the King's men compare *The Scornful Lady*, &c.

19. *The Nice Valor*, or *The Passionate Madman*, was revived soon after Fletcher's death, c. 1625, Christmas (see the Prologue); but greatly altered, perhaps by Middleton. The scene (like the preceding play) was originally in France, for all the proper names, except Galoshio, are French, and the Duke (cf. "Duchess of Valois, ii. 1) has been transferred from Valois to Genoa, iv. 1. Base, the jester, was, I think, T. Basse, who acted with Lady Elizabeth's men 1613. The "reformer" is careful to tell us that Fletcher wrote only a few scenes in the original play, and that these were the Chamont scenes: "his scenes," Prol.; "what is writ of nicer valor," Epil.; but that he had rewritten "the love scenes; Cupid in's petticoat," for which "he'll stand no shock of censure," Epil. Hence the 1613 title was *The Nice Valor*, the 1626 title *The Passionate Madman*. None of the Cupid scene characters have proper names. The Fletcher

part is i. 1*a*; ii. 1*ac*; iii. 2; iv. 1; v. 2, 3*bd*. The reformed part, i. 1*b*; ii. 1*b*; iii. 1, 3; v. 1, 3*ac* (very little altered). The scenes are marked, probably by the reformer, who did not preserve an actor-list. *Fisher's Folly*, 1624, is mentioned v. 3*a*. "The private house," iv. 1, must refer to a time when there was only one private theatre (Blackfriars), and must date after the closing of Whitefriars in 1613. Poltrot has no name in the Fletcher part; he is only "a gallant" in iv. 1; but the name was no doubt adopted by the reformer from the 1613 play.

20. *The Nightwalker, or The little Thief*, C., was licensed by Herbert, as "corrected by Shirley," 1633, May 11, for Queen Henrietta's players, and performed before the King and Queen 1634, Jan. 30, as "made by Fletcher, and liked." Published as Fletcher's 1640. The unaltered Fletcher part is i. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; ii. 1, 2. In i. 2 Wildgoose occurs, and in ii. 1, iii. 1, v. 2 Nicholas. These are Fletcher's names. Toby occurs for Nicholas i. 3, iii. 1, 3, iv. 1, 4, v. 2; and Wildbrain for Wildgoose i. 3, iii. 1, iv. 1, 3, v. 1. These are Shirley's names. It is clear that iii. 1, v. 2 were only altered, not rewritten; and so, doubtless, other scenes. *Histrionastix*, 1633, is mentioned iii. 4. "The witches hanged at Ludlow," iii. 3; "A new book of Fools," iii. 3, await identification. The play is not the same as *The Devil of Dowgate*, 1623, Oct. 17, for that belonged to the King's men; this one, like other Fletcher plays that came down to Queen Henrietta's men, was originally acted by the L. Elizabeth's players c. 1614. Had it been left unfinished at Fletcher's death the King's men would have had it. It cannot date later than 1615.

21. *Wit without money*, C., certainly by Fletcher only, though the 1639 Quarto says by Beaumont and Fletcher, was produced soon after 1614, Aug. 24, when the Sussex

serpent appears in S. R., "Dragons in Sussex, sir, or fiery battles seen in the air at Aspurg," ii. 4. The Beeston boys acted it at Court 1637, Feb. 14. It had been acted before this by Queen Henrietta's men. It is in Beeston's 1639 list. It was entered S. R. with *The Nightwalker* and three of Shirley's plays. The "half-crown boxes," i. 1, are also mentioned in *Bartholomew Fair* (Induction), 1614, Nov., at the Hope, and this unusually high price points to the same theatre. The New River, finished 1613, Sept. 29, is alluded to in iv. 5. The date of the play is certainly 1614, after August.

22. *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed, or The Taming of the Tamer* (Herbert), C., was revived in Oct. 1633; "an old play, by Fletcher" (only), suppressed by Herbert on Friday the 18th [not 19th], and *The Scornful Lady* acted instead of it. The book was sent him on Oct. 19, returned "purged" Oct. 21. Lowin and Swanston apologised for their ill manners in discourse about this Oct. 24. It was acted before the King and Queen at St. James', and was liked, Nov. 28, two days after *The Taming of the Shrew*, which was not liked. Of course Henrietta would not like the taming. There is no actor-list in the 1679 Folio. It must therefore date, if a King's men's play, after Shakespeare's retirement, 1610, and before 1613. The Prologue and Epilogue (by Massinger, I think) show that *The Tamer Tamed* was the 1633 title, and so Herbert has it. "The wind and the rain," ballad i. 3, is quoted also in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1610, and *M. Thomas*, 1609. The siege of Ostend, i. 3, is referred to in *Love's Cure*, 1608, and *The Coxcomb*, 1610. Lusty Lawrence is alluded to i. 3, and mistaken by Weber and Dyce for a singlestick player. The "armies in the air" at Aspurg are also mentioned in *Wit without Money*, 1614. On the

whole, I date this play, if a King's men's play originally, 1612; but it may have been a Lady Elizabeth's men's, c. 1615, and most likely was so, like *The Scornful Lady*, acted instead of it in 1633. The scenes are marked, but this may have been done at the revival. Would a play burlesquing one of Shakespeare's have been produced by the King's men in 1612? I think not; nor does the play occur in the 1612-13 list as acted at Court.

23. *The Beggars' Bush*, C., was certainly by Fletcher and Massinger. Fletcher's share is ii. 1; iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; iv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; v. 1 (part); Massinger's, i. 1, 2, 3; ii. 2, 3, 4; v. 1 (part), 2. Fletcher spells Jaculin, and Massinger Jaqueline; in v. 1 both occur. Dyce, as usual, suppresses this difference; but his is a modernised edition, not a "literal" reprint, like Grosart's *Dido*, where the same thing is done without a vestige of excuse. As there is no actor-list, I have no doubt that the original performance was by the L. Elizabeth's men at the Hope c. 1615. The scenes were probably divided and the text revised for the Court performance 1622, Dec. 27, by the King's men, to whom this play had passed with *The Scornful Lady*, &c. The attribution of part-authorship to Beaumont in the 1661 Quarto indicates, as usual with these mistaking late Quartos, a date prior to Beaumont's death. Dyce says, "Fletcher may certainly be regarded as sole author;" and again, "We may conclude" it was originally acted in 1622; but "this remark only shows how dangerous it is to be confident in matters of such uncertainty," as Dyce remarks on Weber, *re Cupid's Revenge*. The Epilogue is by Higgin and Prig together. Fletcher used, I think, the 1612 edition of Dekker's *Belman* for the canting parts.

24. *The Chances*, C., has a Prologue and Epilogue for a revival after Fletcher's death; v. 3 ridicules devil plays.

"Ascend Asteroth," "Belfegor," "St. Dunstan," "the Devil's in't," "the Merry Devil," &c., allude plainly to Haughton's *Grim*, Drayton's *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, Dekker's *If this be not*, &c.; while "Dost thou think the Devil such an ass as people make him?" v. 3, probably supplied Jonson with a title for his play, 1616. Jonson's, of course, is not one of the satirised plays, for Pug does not "run of errands with Asteroth and Behemoth and Belphegor." The play has no actor-list, but "Rowl.," i.e., W. Rowley, acted in it, iii. 2. Dyce has sophisticated this name into Rowland without authority. In the same scene the song of John Dory is sung, which occurs in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1610. Some other songs, found only in the 1679 Folio, are of doubtful authorship. The play is founded on *La Sennora Cornelia*, one of Cervantes' *Novelas Exemplares*. It has been much abridged, probably for Court performance. I have little doubt that it was written for Prince Charles' men 1615, and I think it likely that it was the play, *A Vow and a good one*, acted by them before the Prince 1623, Jan. 6. Compare i. 10, the Duke's vow, with v. 3, the final line. A droll, *The Landlady*, founded on it, is in *The Wits*, 1672.

25. *The Faithful Friends* was entered S. R. 1660, June 29, for Moseley as by Beaumont and Fletcher (and printed 1812 by Weber), together with *A Right Woman*, of which more hereafter, and *Mador King of Britain*, H., "by Beaumont." Had these plays been by Fletcher and Beaumont they would certainly have been included in the Folios; but the attribution to them indicates, as usual, a date before Beaumont's death, 1616, Mar. 6. The present play was written 1614, Mar., after the marriage of Carr Earl of Somerset, 1613, Dec. 26. The reference to him, i. 1, as the analogue in "courts that I have seen" to

Alexander's Hephæstion and Philip's Lerma, and to "the revellings of this great nuptial" some two days since, or rather two months since, cannot be mistaken. I have no doubt that Daborne, then writing for Henslow, was the author. The MS. is one corrected after alterations by the Master of the Revels. In i. 3, "Dost tell me—image" is replaced by a couple of lines, the original being full of allusions to Dogberry; in ii. 1, "dost not—debtor" is omitted as profane; iv. 5 has the plot of the scene by one author, and the scene itself by another, written in a different hand. The copy had probably been damaged, and completed from some other copy, for the beginning (three leaves) and the end (one leaf) have been supplied in a more modern writing. I think the play is Daborne's (except iv. 5), and that it was almost his last for the stage. I conjecture that it gave offence, and caused Daborne's giving up writing for the stage; and, further, that it may be the play indicated as *Damon and Pythias* in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* six months afterwards.

26. *Amends for Ladies*, C., was published 1618 as acted "at the Blackfriars both by the Prince's [Charles'] servants and the Lady Elizabeth's." As these companies never occur in connexion with the King's men's Blackfriars Theatre, and did for a very short time act at Rossiter's new theatre in Blackfriars in 1615, this must be the theatre intended. But it may have been, and I think was, acted earlier. On 1611, Nov. 23, Field, in the Dedication of *The Weathercock Woman*, says of it, "till my next play be printed, wherein she shall see what amends I have made to her." Would Field have said "printed" if it had not been acted already? and in the *Niobe dissolved into a Nilus*, by A. Stafford, S. R. 1611, Oct. 10, he says, "*I will never write an Amends for Woman till I see Woman Amended.*"

I think it must have been acted by the Queen's Revels boys at Whitefriars before 1611, Oct. The 1639 edition adds in the title "with the merry pranks of Moll Cutpurse or the humour of roaring." This again implies (for the play was not altered) an almost contemporaneous production with *The Roaring Girl* (q.v.), and therefore a date of 1610-11. This is, I think, the Fortune play alluded to in iii. 4; but *Long Meg of Westminster* and "The Ship" (whatever that was) were also to be seen there, ii. 1. *The Honest Whore*, iii. 4; *Mucedorus*, v. 2; and 1 *Henry* 4, v. 1:—

"The play where the fat knight hight Oldcastle
Did tell you truly what his honor was," iv. 3,

all earlier plays, are also alluded to. The two latter had both given offence. An anterior limit of date is given in the S. R. entry of *Don Quixote*, 1611, Jan. 11, for the plot is from *The Curious Impertinent*, and there is no reason to suppose that Field read Spanish. Compare *The Usurping Tyrant* and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. There is no reference (as editors have supposed) to *The Fair Quarrel* in iii. 4; but the parallels of the song in iv. 1 with the dialogue appended to *The Fatal Dowry*, and of a passage in iii. 3 with one in the text of that play, are helpful in determining Field's part thereof. I have no doubt that 1611 is the original date.

In 1616, after Henslow's death on Jan. 9, and before Alleyn's agreement, Mar. 20, Jonson, Fletcher, Massinger, and Field left the L. Elizabeth's and went to the King's men.

27. *The Jeweller of Amsterdam, or The Hague*, by Fletcher, Field, and Massinger, founded, no doubt, on the murder of Wely, the jeweller at the Hague (cf. S. R. 1616,

June 5), and produced, like *Barnaveldt*, close after the facts occurred, was entered S. R. 1654, April 8.

28. *Bonduca*, T., which has the scenes marked, and an actor-list with Ostler in it, cannot date later than 1616; ii. 1 and iv. 4 have rhyming passages unlike Fletcher's work, inserted by some actor, I think; perhaps Field. Otherwise the play is purely Fletcher's. The reader should consider the passage i. 2 repeated almost verbally in *Valentinian*, v. 3, if he cares to form an opinion as to which play was the earlier.

29. *Valentinian*, T., by Fletcher only, has the scenes marked, and Ostler in the actor-list; the date, therefore, is again 1616.

30. *The Bloody Brother*, or *Rollo Duke of Normandy*, T., was entered S. R. 1639, Oct. 4, as "by B. J." (but printed 1640, as "by B. J. F." in London, and as "by John Fletcher" at Oxford), along with *A wife for a month*. It was written by Fletcher, ii. 1, 2, 3; iii. 2; v. 2; Massinger, i. 1; but as we have it iii. 1; iv. 1, 2, 3; v. 1, are by a third hand. Cartwright's *Royal Slave* had been acted at Oxford 1636, Aug. 30, and published at Oxford 1639 by W. Turner for T. Robinson, and all three plays were acted at Hampton Court in 1637—*The Royal Slave* on Jan. 12, *Rollo* on Jan. 17 [so Cunningham, *Revels*, p. xxv.; but Jan. 24, Malone, *Variorum*, iii. 239], *A wife for a month*, Feb. 9. This, I think, justifies the inference that the Fletcher plays had also been performed at Oxford in 1636, Aug.; for if not, why an Oxford publication of them? If this be so, the J. B. of the 1639 entry was probably John Birkenhead, and the B. J. F. of the 1639 edition a printer's erroneous correction from J. B., the corrector having written in the margin J. F., and the compositor having neglected to delete the B. In any case, we must, I think, look for an Oxford

man as the reformer of the play. I have little doubt that it was Cartwright, not Birkenhead, who really did this; he admired Fletcher greatly, preferring him to Shakespeare and Jonson, although the latter called him "my son Cartwright," and his style was founded on Jonson's. The date of the original play was c. 1616. Fisk and Norbret (in whom, to my surprise, Dyce failed to recognise Bretnor) occur in the Fletcher parts, and are also mentioned in *The Devil is an ass*, i. 2, played in 1616; but Rusee and Savory are 1636 additions, and do not speak in the Fletcher parts, only occurring in the stage direction of v. 2 as altered in 1636, and in the text of the Oxford additions. The play as published in London has no division into scenes, but in the Oxford (which is the more correct, and should be made the basis when re-edited) the scenes are divided in the French way—a new scene at the entrance of each new actor. So are Cartwright's plays. In ii. 1, "Oh power of tears dropt by a thorough woman!" was printed in the 1639 edition "prayer dropt through by a woman," and in the Oxford text "paper dropt through by a woman." Mitford saw that "prayer," taken from the preceding line, was a mistake for "tears," but no editor has corrected the rest of the line, which I give as a sample of the merits of the modern editions. The scene changes from Caen to Rouen, iv. 2, in the 1636 part only. The song of *Three merry boys* is quoted in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, and its parody, iii. 2, must be of early date. As for the so-called imitation of *Neptune's Triumph*, 1624, in ii. 2, it is of no import; if there be any imitation, which is very doubtful, it is more likely to have been by Jonson, who imported Marlow's translation of an elegy by Ovid into *The Poetaster*, and inserted a scene from *The New Inn* into *Love's Pilgrimage*, than by Fletcher, who was not accustomed to translations

of this sort. A droll from this play, *The three merry men*, occurs in *The Wits*, 1672. The ballad given by Collier, in which "I'll lead you like brave Rollo" occurs, is a forgery. For the historical *origines* of the plot see Dyce.

31. *Thierry King of France and his brother Theodoret*, T., was published 1621 without author's name, but acted by the King's men at Blackfriars. The 1648 edition is worthless; it attributes the authorship to Beaumont and Fletcher, gives a Prologue which belongs to *The Noble Gentleman*, and an Epilogue stolen from Shirley's *Love in a Maze*, written when he removed to Salisbury Court, 1632, Jan. Until I discovered this theft I was greatly puzzled with allusions in it which would not fit into Fletcher's career. Compare the Epilogue wrongly assigned to *The Woman Hater*. The astrology of Lacure and the name De Vitry distinctly point to the condemnation of Concini in 1617 for treason and sorcery. The whole play is a satire on the French Court under Marie de Medici. Vitri arrested the Maréchal d'Ancre, and on his resistance killed him. The placing the scene in the reign of Clotaire 2 is one of Massinger's political adaptations. A play on *Brunhilt* (really historical) had been acted by the Admiral's men at the Rose 1597, Nov., "*Brunhowlte*, *Branhowlte*," which has no connexion with Suckling's *Brennoralt*, or *The Discontented Colonel*, as Collier supposes. Fletcher wrote i. 1; ii. 2, 3; iv. 1; v. 2; Massinger, i. 2; ii. 1, 4; iv. 2; and a third hand, whom I believe to be Field, iii. 1, 2, 3; v. 1. The scenes are not divided.

32. *Henry 8*, by Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Massinger. See my *Life of Shakespeare*.

33. *The Knight of Malta*, T. C. In this play Field and Burbadge acted. It dates, therefore, between 1616 and 1619. Mr. Boyle (the value of whose papers I have repeatedly

recognised) deliberately and falsely asserts that I have dated this play 1613 (*Englische Studien*, v. 1), and on this founds an absurd theory that Beaumont wrote a part of it. Mr. Boyle is, as I have frequently pointed out, incapable of distinguishing Field's work from Beaumont's. Had this occurred in a New Shakspeare Society paper I should not have noticed it, but the reputation of so distinguished a publication as *Englische Studien* demands a positive contradiction. The date 1617 suits best with the general order of Fletcher's plays. He wrote ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; iii. 1, 4; iv. 2, 3, 4; Massinger iii. 2, 3; iv. 1; and a third author i. 1, 2, 3; v. 1, 2. I have little doubt that this third hand was Field. The character called Zanthia by Field is named Abdella by Fletcher. The statement of Mr. Boyle that Gomera has two pronunciations is founded solely on his defective ear for English verse, which, indeed, has vitiated all his calculations.

34. *The Queen of Corinth*, T. C., was probably acted 1618, Mar. The allusion to the burning of Dian's temple with the church books, iv. 1, I think refers to the burning of the Palace at Paris with the ancient French records, 1618, Mar. 7. In 1617 there were so many fires in England that Stow could not set them down particularly (p. 1029). Coryat, "the Ulyssean traveller" of iii. 1, died Dec. 1617 at Surat. I do not think this play would have been produced after his death was known in England; but news from India came very slowly; the Amboyna massacre was not known for two years. As to authorship, Massinger wrote i. 1, 2, 3^b; v. 1, 2, 3; Fletcher, i. 3^a, 4; ii. 1, 2, 3, 4; Field, iii. 1, 2; iv. 1, 2, 3, 4. Where Massinger writes Onos the others have Lamprias, but Fletcher has Lampree, not for Onos, but for the uncle. *T. Coryat's Greeting* of 1616 (the one with the elephant) is alluded to in iii. 1,

and was printed 1616. The play must have been later, yet Mr. Boyle says it is partly by Beaumont. Does he know the date of Beaumont's death? Note in iii. 1 the curious meeting of parallel lines in the centre. The author means meridian lines, which become parallel in Mercator's projection. The supposed similarities (*i.e.*, the fact that a church book is destroyed in both) between this play and *The Old Law* are not helpful as to date or authorship. Field abounds in reminiscences of older plays; witness "admir'd Miranda" in *The Knight of Malta*, iii. 2. The scenes are marked.

35. *The Mad Lover*, T. C., is expressly and rightly ascribed to Fletcher by Cockaine. Field acted in it. Founded on *Josephus*, xviii. 4 (Mundus and Paulina). *Bandello*, iii. 19, has the same story. Ed. Hor[ton], ii. 1, and R. Bax[ter], iv. 1, acted in it according to the stage directions 1647 Folio, but this must have been at a revival c. 1630. The original production cannot be more than a year wrong if put in 1618. One actor "doubled" Cloe and the Courtesan, iv. 5.

36. *The Loyal Subject*, T. C., was licensed by Buck 1618, Nov. 16. Field acted in it. Revived and licensed by Herbert, "with some [slight] reformatiōns," 1633, Nov. 23, with Prologue and Epilogue [by Massinger], which ascribe it rightly to one author, Fletcher. Acted before the King and Queen at Whitehall 1633, Dec. 10, and liked. It took three hours to act (Epilogue). For the plot compare Heywood's *Royal King and Loyal Subject*. The scenes are marked.

All the King's men's plays up to this point that have actor-lists have Burbadge as one of the actors. He died 1619, Mar. 13. See for the complete list my *History of the Stage*, p. 269.

37. *The Fatal Dowry*, T., by N. F[ield] and P. M[assinger], was published 1632. In ii. 2, Florimel, acted by Field (for such a personal allusion, I think, implies identity of author and actor), is "32 years old," ii. 2. Field was baptized 1587, Oct. 17, and therefore 32 in 1619—rather old for a woman's part; but Field was young-looking, with little beard. He seems to have left acting at Burbadge's death, as his name never occurs except after Burbadge's in any list. I date the original production of this play, therefore, in 1619, about Shrovetide, which agrees with the "after Twelfthtide" of ii. 2. Field's part is i. 2b (from "exeunt Officers"), ii. 1, 2; iii. 1b (after "exeunt all but Charolois and Romont), iv. 1; v. 2, 80-120. Massinger's is i. 1, 2a; iii. 1a; iv. 2, 3, 4; v. 1, 2 (mostly). But this, I think, was written later, for the decree in favour of creditors i. 2a was a statute made 1623. I guess, therefore, that the play as we have it is an alteration made by Massinger; perhaps *The Judge*, licensed 1627, June 6. See iv. 4. But see also *The Unnatural Combat*. One passage, ii. 2, was transferred by Field from *Amends for Ladies*.

38. *The Humorous Lieutenant*, T. C. (or *Demetrius and Enanthe*, C., by John Fletcher, 1625 MS.), the date of which "cannot be ascertained" (Dyce), is the most definitely dated of all Fletcher's plays, except those in Herbert's entries, for Field and Burbadge did not act in it, and Condell, who acted in all the other Burbadge plays, did act. Its original production was in 1619, just after Burbadge's death, and before Condell's retiring. It was founded on History and Horace' *Epistles*, ii. 2. The story is also told in Thomas Ford's *Theatre of Wits*, 1660. The 1625 MS. contains many passages which were omitted, to shorten the play for the stage, in the Folio version, and ought to be made the basis of future editions. These omissions are very valuable

as showing the kind and extent of such alterations. A droll from it, *Forced Valor*, is in *The Wits*, 1672.

39. *Sir John van Olden Barnaveldt*, T., was announced by Mr. A. H. Bullen as a play of Chapman's, but printed for him from MS. Addit. 18,653 as by Fletcher and Massinger in 1883. He had obtained his knowledge of the real authorship from me, and subsequently quite independently from Mr. Boyle. Massinger wrote i. 1, 2; ii. 1; iii. 2, 3, 5; iv. 4, 5; v. 1; Fletcher, i. 3; ii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; iii. 1, 4, 6; iv. 1, 2, 3; v. 2, 3. The play was acted 1619, Aug. 14-27. Barnaveldt was executed May 13. See Mr. Lee in *Athenæum*, 1884, Jan. 19, and his quotations from *Domestic State Papers*, ex. 18, 37. For the actors in this play, as given in the MS. stage copy, see my *History of the Stage*, p. 268.

We now come on a group of plays which, as Burbadge, Ostler, and Condell in their actor-lists had been succeeded by Taylor, Benfield, and Robinson, must date after 1619, Mar. 13; and as they are not included in Herbert's entries, must date before 1622, May 14. It is also probable, as we shall see, that during 1621 Massinger and Fletcher wrote separately, not as coadjutors. I cannot be more than a year wrong in dating these plays, but do not pretend to give them in exact order.

40. *The Laws of Candy*, T. C., founded on Cinthio, *Hecatomithi*, x. 9, dates, I think, 1619. The comet or "blazing star" (Stow, p. 1030) which passed over London 1618 Dec. 11, and an account of which was published S. R. 1619, Jan. 22, probably suggested passages in ii. 1. The play has been greatly abridged for stage purposes, whence the irregular metre in ii. 1, iii. 3, but is clearly almost entirely Massinger's; nevertheless, in ii. 1, iii. 3, v. 1, and especially in iv. 1, I can distinctly trace in places the hand of Fletcher, who, I think, revised it for the stage. That the plot is

Massinger's will be clear to readers of *The Unnatural Combat*.

41. *The Custom of the Country*, C., both the chief plot and underplot of which I have found in Cervantes' *Persiles and Sigismunda* (translated 1619, Feb. 22, S. R.), from which were taken the names Hippolito, Zabulon, Clodio, Arnoldo, Rutilio, Manuel, Alonzo, Zenocia, Sulpitia, but not Charino, Duarte, and Guiomar, probably belongs to 1619. It was revived for Herbert's winter benefit, being "an old play," 1628, Nov. 22. A droll, *The Stallion*, founded on it, is in *The Wits*, 1672. The first Prologue and Epilogue were for the original performance. The Prologue mentions "the authors," i.e., Fletcher, i. 1, 2; iii. 1, 2, 3; iv. 3, 4; v. 5 (part); and Massinger, ii. 1, 2, 3, 4; iii. 4, 5; iv. 1, 2; v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (part). The second Prologue and Epilogue were for a revival after Massinger's death, 1639, Mar. (not the 1628 revival). The Prologue was spoken by "my son" [Hugh] Clark, but by whom written I know not, nor have I found any other mention of Clark till 1647. The Guiomar story is also found in Cinthio, but there is no reason for supposing the authors went to a second source for it. The scenes are marked, but whether originally or at a revival I know not.

42. *The Double Marriage*, T., was written by Fletcher, ii. 1, 2, 3, 4; iii. 2, 3; iv. 3, 4; v. 3; and Massinger, i. 1, 2; iii. 1; iv. 1, 2; v. 1, 2 (these two scenes were worked over by him, but at first written by Fletcher), 4, 5. Massinger spells Ferrand, Fletcher Ferrant. The original version was necessarily c. 1620, but whether Massinger's part was then written I doubt. The triple mention of "nightpiece" in v. 1, and Juliana's allusions to her "piety," iii. 3, iv. ii., which was quite sufficiently "unfortunate," induce me to identify this play with *The Unfortunate Piety*, or *The Italian Nightpiece* of 1631, June 13; and the innumerable allusions

to Ferrant as the "tyrant" almost justify a further identification with *The Tyrant*, by Massinger, of S. R. 1660, which is generally, without sufficient reason, considered to be the same as *The King and the Subject*. The monopoly in "oil," i. 1, which is a necessary ingredient in soap, is, I think, directed against the soap-boiling monopoly of 1630, Nov.; and I have no doubt other definite allusions in i. 1, *e.g.*, that to "horses," may be dated by those who are acquainted with the minutiae of Charles' reign; v. 1 is imitated from *Don Quixote*, Part 2. The scenes are not marked, which is peculiar, if the play as we have it be, as I think, a revival of 1631.

43. *The Little French Lawyer*, C. The Prologue and Epilogue mention the "writers" and "poets," viz., Fletcher, ii. 1, 2, 3; iii. 2, 4, 5; iv. 2, 3, 4; v. 2, 3; and Massinger, i. 1, 2, 3; iii. 1, 3; iv. 1, 5, 6, 7; v. 1. The Annabel part is entirely Fletcher's, and her speeches in iv. 5, 6, v. 1, were inserted by him in the Massinger scenes. Fletcher accentuates Dínant, ii. 1, v. 4; but Massinger Dinánt, i. 1, 2, 3; iii. 1, 3; iv. 3. The plot is from *The Spanish Rogue*, ii. 4, which is taken from the *Novellino* of Masuccio Salernitano. The date is c. 1620. The nurse in ii. 3, the only Fletcher scene in which she speaks, is called "Old Lady," not "Nurse," as in the Massinger scenes. A quotation from an unknown play, "Give me the man that will all others kill And last himself," occurs in iv. 4, and allusions to Shakespeare's plays in iv. 6.

44. *The False One*, T., is by two authors (see Prologue and Epilogue), viz., Fletcher, ii., iii., iv.; Massinger, i., v. The Prologue apologises for taking up the subject of Antony and Cleopatra after Shakespeare. Date c. 1620. There is a mask in iii. 4, which looks as if it had been written for the opening of the New River 1613, and adapted here. If so, it had

perhaps been rejected when Middleton's was preferred. Lucan has been used by the writers, as well as the historians, Plutarch, &c.

45. *The Duke of Milan*, T., published 1623, Jan. 20; by Massinger only; his earliest unassisted performance; founded on Josephus' *History of the Jews*, xv. 4, and, slightly, on Guicciardini's *History*, xv., xix. Date c. 1620. Acted by the King's men at Blackfriars. With the painting the corpse, v. 2, compare *The Usurping Tyrant* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*. The "fellow that could indite," iii. 2, is, I suppose, Wither.

46. *Women Pleased*, T. C., by Fletcher alone, is founded on Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*, vii. 6 (for Act ii. Sc. 4), viii. 8 (for Act iv. Sc. 3). "The Duke of Milan of late days," i. 1, I think, refers, though very indirectly, to Massinger's play. The actor-list is identical with those of *The Little French Lawyer* and *The Custom of the Country*. Date c. 1620.

I now pass to a group of Massinger's plays not written for the King's men. About this time Massinger and Fletcher ceased for some eighteen months, c. 1620 Sept.—1622 Mar., to write together, whether through disagreement I cannot say; but I think Massinger did not like his name not having appeared as author in any published play. I will take his plays for this interval first.

47. *The Virgin Martyr*, T., was published 1621, Dec. 7, S. R., as by Dekker and Massinger. This, of course, was the version of the play as reformed and licensed by Buck 1620, Oct. 6. It is evidently a recasting by Massinger of an old Dekker play. The Hirtius and Spongius filth, ii. 1, 3, iii. 3, iv. 2, has not been touched by Massinger, and Dekker's hand is still discernible in bits retained in the scenes that have been rewritten. The original play was

doubtless *Dioclesian*, acted at the Rose 1594, Nov. 16, but even then an old play, dating from 1591 at the latest. One vestige of primitive date may still be seen in iv. 2, "Rounce, robble, hobble, &c.," a hexameter in ridicule of Harvey's (cf. *The Old Wife's Tale*); and probably another in ii. 1, "Our next neighbour's man" Christopher, *i.e.*, Marlow, who had left the Admiral's men (for whom he had written with Dekker) in 1589. There was a new scene added 1624, July 7, but this was never published. Herbert does not name the company acting at the Bull 1620; in fact, they had no name. They had been Queen Anne's men till her death, but did not get their patent as the Revel's company till 1622, July 8; till then their only name is the company at the Red Bull. Dekker spells "Cæsaria." The Dekker play is *The Martyr Dorothea* of the 1626 Dresden company.

48. *Philenzo and Hippolito*, "by Massinger," S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, the MS. of which was destroyed by Warburton's servant, was no doubt an alteration for the same company about the same time of [Dekker's] *Philippo and Hippolito*, acted at the Rose 1594, July 9, but, like *The Virgin Martyr*, an old play of c. 1590.

49. *Antonio and Vallia*, by Massinger, entered S. R. 1660, June 29, which also was destroyed by Warburton's servant, was doubtless the Rose play of 1595, June 20, altered by Massinger in the same way. This also was an old play of c. 1590 [by Dekker].

50. *The Maid of Honor*, T. C., was published 1632, as then acted at the Phoenix by Queen Henrietta's servants; but it was probably written before 1622, for it does not occur in Herbert's license-list. In 1621 Massinger was writing for the Bull company, and we know that their plays passed to the Phoenix company. This is, therefore, the

likelier list-date. It is not *The Honor of Women*, for that was a King's men's play. Fulgentio, I have no doubt, means Buckingham. The King can spare him 50,000 crowns for a mask, iii. 2, and he makes more bishops in Sicily than the Pope, i. 1 (*i.e.*, in England than the King); notably M. Fotherby of Salisbury, 1618, and J. Williams of Lincoln, 1621. In i. 2 the strange meaning of "parallels," as if meridians, again occurs: "We are not parallels, but, like lines divided, can ne'er meet in one centre."

51. *A new way to pay old debts*, C., was, like the preceding, published 1632, Nov. 10, as acted by the Queen's men at the Phoenix, and there are five lines in i. 2 on the taking of Breda 1625, July 1, which require a later date for the copy we have; yet I venture to assign 1621 for the original production. It is not mentioned in Herbert's Office-Book, and must therefore date, I suppose, before May 1622. The subsequent insertion of the five lines in 1625 *c.* Christmas by Massinger, before he rejoined the King's men in 1626, need not give us any trouble; he was continually revising his plays, as his whole career indisputably proves. It was published by Massinger himself, with a dedication, as his own work. Yet Mr. Boyle, of the New Shakspeare Society, has stated that Fletcher was co-author. As his foundation for this inconsiderate statement is simply the use of metrical tests of which he understands neither the bearing nor the limitations, his verdict cannot for a moment be weighed against the positive testimony, "by Philip Massinger," in the S. R. entry. I might as well say that "Fleay, with his usual infallibility," and other similar courteous allusions to my work in Mr. Boyle's paper, prove it to be written by the Director of the N. S. S.

52. *The Unnatural Combat*, T., does not appear in Herbert's license-list. It was published 1639, with dedication,

as "an old tragedy without prologue or epilogue, being composed in a time when such by-ornaments were not advanced above the fabric of the whole work." Yet prologues to comedies are alluded to iv. 2. I date it 1621 provisionally, not knowing when *The Soldier's Delight* was "a new song," iii. 3, which would fix the date if I did know.

53. *The Woman's Plot*, C., was acted at Court 1621[-2] (*Biog. Dram.*). One MS. of it was destroyed by Warburton's servant, no doubt the one entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, as *The Very Woman*, or *The Woman's Plot*. But *The Very Woman*, or *The Prince of Tarent*, is extant, having been licensed by Herbert 1634, June 6, and published with *The Bashful Lover* and *The Guardian* as Massinger's in 1655. I believe that the 1653 entry was a mistake, and that *The Woman's Plot* and the *The Very Woman* were different plays. See further on under *A Very Woman*. Neither *The Woman's Plot* nor *The Woman's too hard for him*, which also was performed at Court 1621[-2], were probably by Fletcher, nor do I know by what company they were acted.

I now turn to Fletcher, who still wrote for the King's men.

54. *The Island Princess*, T. C., by Fletcher only, was acted at Court 1621[-2] (*Variorum*, iii. 225). *La Conquista de las Moluccas*, by Melchior Fernandez de Leon, has, in the historical part only, a similar plot.

55. *The Pilgrim*, C., by Fletcher only, was acted at Court 1621[-2], and again at Whitehall 1622, Dec. 30; iii. 7 is from *Don Quixote*, which is, strangely, unnoticed by Dyce. Scenes divided.

56. *The Wildgoose Chase*, C., was acted at Court 1621[-2], and revived for Herbert's "summer day" 1631. By Fletcher only. When the 1647 Folio was published the stationer, Moseley, said that that volume, "beside those

that were formerly printed," contained every piece by Beaumont and Fletcher, written "either jointly or severally," except this play, for which he "put up this *si quis*." In 1652 "a person of honor" retrieved it, and it was published by Moseley, for Lowin and Taylor, as Beaumont and Fletcher's, with a list of actors and their characters, which, as it includes Hamerton, Trigg, Sander Gough, and Honeyman, must belong to the 1631 revival. The copy was, therefore, not the original version, and has evidently been much abridged. The scenes are divided. A mark of alteration remains in "Leverdure, *alias* Lugier," iii. 1. In spite of Moseley's direct statement quoted above, this same man entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, under the names of Beaumont, Fletcher, and Shakespeare, *Cardenio* (F., Sh.), *Henry 1 and Henry 2* (Sh., Davenport), and 1660, June 29, *A Right Woman* (B., F.), *Iphis and Ianthe* (Sh.), *Duke Humphrey* (Sh.), *Stephen* (Sh.), *The Faithful Friends* (B., F.), and *Mador* (B.). Great critics have regarded, and still do regard these entries as evidence. I cannot.

The three plays last mentioned were no doubt produced in 1621. We now get the guidance of Herbert's Office-Book.

57. *The Prophtess*, T. H. Licensed 1622, May 14; revived for Herbert's "summer day" 1629. By Fletcher, i. 1, 2, 3; iii. 1, 2, 3; v. 3; and Massinger, ii. 1, 2, 3; iv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; v. 1, 2 (the Persian part and Aper). For the historic subject compare *The Virgin Martyr*. For the She devil, iii. 2, cf. *The Devil is an ass*, 1616. There is a Dumb Show and a Chorus and a Dance. The pastoral names, v. 2, may contain personal allusions. The scenes are divided.

58. *The Sea Voyage*, C., licensed 1622, June 22; by Fletcher, i., iv., and Massinger, ii., iii., v.; but I think

there are Fletcher bits in the Massinger acts. The metrical arrangement is very corrupt, and I think the copy used was a late acting one. I dare not be so positive as the New Shakspeare Society (I give this name to Mr. Boyle in the same sense as he assigns it to me) in separating the authorship.

59. *The Spanish Curate*, C. Licensed 1622, Oct. 24; performed at Court 1622, Dec. 26. A droll from it, *The Sexton*, or *The Mock Testators*, is in *The Wits*, 1672. Founded on Don Gonzalo de Cespides' *Gerardo the unfortunate Spaniard*, translated by L. Digges 1622, Mar. 11, S. R. By Fletcher, Prol., ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; iii. 1, 2, 4; iv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7; v. 2, Epil.; and Massinger, i. 1, 2, 3; iii. 3; iv. 1, 4; v. 1, 3. Fletcher writes Córdova, Angelo Milanes (as a single name), Bartólus, Assistant; Massinger prefers Cordúba, Angelo, Milanes (two names), Bártolus, Assistente. The names of the characters which, though taken from the novel, have been transmuted were assigned by Massinger; many of them (Ascanio, Henrique, Octavio, Jacinta, Violante) do not occur in Fletcher's part, except incidentally. Massinger now left the King's men again.

60. *The Maid in the Mill*, C. Licensed 1623, Aug. 29. By Fletcher and W. Rowley. Acted Sept. 29 at Hampton Court, Nov. 1 at St. James' before the Prince (with reformations), and Dec. 26 before the King and Prince at Whitehall. The plot is founded on *Gerardo* (see *The Spanish Curate*) and Bandello's *Alessandro D. di Firenze* (cf. Belleforeste, *Hist. Trag.*, i. 12, and Goulart, *Hist. Admir.*, i. 212). Fletcher's part is i. 1, 2, 3; iii. 2, 3; v. 2 (part); Rowley's (who acted in the play), ii. 1, 2; iii. 1; iv. 1, 2, 3; v. 1, 2 (part). "Am I your father?" ii. 1, refers to *Merlin (q.v.)*. The "Julian feast," ii. 1, is Aug. 28. In iii. 3 we learn that 1622 was "a healthful year." A droll, *The Surprise*,

from this play is in *The Wits*, 1672. The scenes are divided.

61. *The Devil of Dowgate, or Usury put to use*, C., was licensed 1623, Oct. 17 (in place of an old play by Middleton), for the King's men. As Massinger was away, we must look for a play by Fletcher, Middleton, or Rowley. Such a play is *Wit at several Weapons*, C. Fletcher only writ in an "act or two" (see the Epilogue at a revival, when the name of the play, no doubt, was altered). The old title is alluded to i. 2, "Father, you shall know that I put my portion to use." The scene is in London, and the subject is of such a father and son as the old ballad title, *The Devil of Dowgate and his Son*, would lead us to expect. Fletcher's part is i. 1; ii. 1; iii. 1; iv. 1, 2, 3; but it has been altered at the revival, of course after Fletcher's death. The rest is by Rowley. "Blindman's buff is an unlawful game," v. 1, *i.e.*, under the statute of i. Car. 1. I place the revival, therefore, in 1626. The calling a puppy with hist, hiss, hiss, taken from a play at the Bull, ii. 2, I am unable to trace at present. I find no notice of a Court performance under either of the above names, but as it is not likely that any play of Fletcher's should at this late date have been omitted from the Court list, I would suggest that *The Buck is a Thief*, presented 1623, Dec. 28, was this play. Sir Ruinous Gentry, of course, would be the Buck.

Massinger now appears as a writer for the Lady Elizabeth's men at the Cockpit.

62. *The (Noble) Bondman*, licensed 1623, Dec. 3, for the Cockpit company, was published S. R. 1624, Mar. 12. This early publication implies eagerness on the company's part to make known their new playwright, for whom they had exchanged Middleton and Rowley; and, I think, on Mas-

singer's to see his full name in print. Founded on Plutarch's *Timoleon*, &c.

63. *The Wandering Lovers* was licensed for the King's men 1623, Dec. 6. "By Mr. Fletcher." *The Lovers' Progress*, T., is, as the Prologue and Epilogue tell us, an alteration of a play of Fletcher's "long since writ." It is clearly by Fletcher, i. 2*b*; ii. 1, 3, 4; iii. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6*a*; and Massinger (the alterer), i. 1, 2*a*; ii. 2; iii. 4, 6*b*; iv. 1, 2, 3, 4; v. 1, 2, 3. This was the play of *Cleander*, licensed 1634, May 9. There can be no doubt that Lydian, Clarange, and Lysander are *The Wandering Lovers*; cf. "Let's part upon our pilgrimage," ii. 3, and "I will part too, a third unfortunate and unwilling wanderer." *Cleander* is a principal personage in the play. On 1624, Jan. 1, the original play, *The Wandering Lovers*, was acted at Whitehall before Prince Charles; and 1653, Sept. 9, it was entered S. R. as *The Wandering Lovers*, or *The Painter*, "by P. Massinger." The play must be in the Folios which contained all Fletcher's works (except *Henry 8*, published as Shakespeare's, the two Barnaveldt plays suppressed, and *The Very Woman*, q.v.), and I can find no other play with which to identify it. The title *The Painter* has no importance; these 1653 entries by Moseley abound in blunders, and are only useful by way of suggestion. This mistake arose, I think, from a confusion with *Doctor Doddypol*, in which there is a Painter and also *Wandering Lovers*, and which was, in my opinion, revived in an altered form 1623, June 10, as *The Dutch Painter and the French Brank* (?) which may have been the play of the 1653 entry. The date of *The Lovers' Progress* exactly agrees with that of *The Wandering Lovers*, for Tooley, who died 1623, June, is not in the actor-list, and Underwood, who died 1624, Oct., is in it. Daudiguiet's *Lysandre et Caliste*, on which the play is

founded, was translated by W. B. 1638, Jan. 22, S. R., probably in consequence of the success of the revival. Davenant's lines—

“Some tale in Diana de Montemayor
Taught you this trick of wandering after lovers,”

from *The Distresses*, v. 1, 1639, refer to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* primarily, but may also allude to this play.

64. *The Renegado*, or *The Gentleman of Venice*, T. C., was licensed 1624, April 17, for the Cockpit. “By Massinger.” It has a list of actors, with characters assigned; but whether this dates 1624 or 1630, Mar. 22, when the play was published as acted by Queen Henrietta's men, is not certain. The title was changed before Shirley's *Gentleman of Venice* was produced.

65. *A wife for a month*, T. C., “by Fletcher,” was licensed 1624, May 27. Acted by the King's men at St. James' 1637, Feb. 9. Langbaine refers the Alphonso story to the history of Sancho 8, King of Leon. Weber's parallel with *The Maid's Tragedy* is more to the purpose. The occurrence of Tooley, who died 1623, June, in the actor-list throws a light on the nature of these 1679 Folio lists. They begin with Fletcher c. 1613, and end with him in this play, and were, I think, memoranda made by him of the cast he wrote for: not inserted, like Jonson's, after the play was performed. This will explain the presence of Tooley's name here, if Fletcher began to write the play before 1623, June. The Quarto editions and the 1679 Folio, whenever printed from the Quartos, omit these lists. Fletcher did not mean them for publication.

66. *Rule a wife and have a wife*, C., was licensed 1624, Oct. 19. Presented by the L. Chamberlain to the ladies at Court Nov. 2; acted before Prince Charles at White-

hall Dec. 26; published at Oxford 1640, and therefore probably acted there before the King and Queen 1636, Aug. (compare *Rollo* and Cartwright's *Royal Slave*). In the Prologue, "Our late errors" and "We're Spaniards all again" allude to the trouble about Middleton's *Game at Chess* in 1624, Aug. The underplot is from Cervantes' *El Casamiento Engañoso* (*Novelas Exemplares*, xi.). By Fletcher only, for the King's men.

67. *The Parliament of Love*, C., "by Massinger," was licensed for the Cockpit 1624, Nov. 3; entered S. R. 1660, June 29, as "by W. Rowley," and was so endorsed in Warburton's list. It was published from an imperfect MS. by Gifford. Alexander Gough, who seems to have supplied Moseley with the authorship data, was one of the King's men, but evidently little acquainted with the facts, especially in these Cockpit plays. Between 1625, Feb. 10, and 1626, Jan. 22, I am unable to trace any license entries. The King's accession, 1625, Mar. 27, and the closing of the theatres for the plague, May 12–Nov. 17, partly account for this. Yet I find plays which I cannot refer to any other year.

68. *The Great Duke of Florence*, C. H., was licensed as *The Great Duke* 1627, July 5, for the Queen's servants, and published 1635, Dec. 7, as by Massinger, with dedication and verses by Donne and Ford. It was, however, probably written by 1625, as after Massinger's return to the King's men in 1626, after Fletcher's death, there is no trace of his ever writing for any other company. This date of return confirms me in my conjecture that the cause of his leaving them was some personal disagreement with Fletcher. Mr. Gardiner has shown that this play contains contemporary allusions. At the end of the play, Calandrino (acted, I suppose, by Timothy Read) speaks of

himself as the only natural stage fool left; "They that do survive Do only zany us."

69. *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, T. C., was licensed 1626, Jan. 22. "By Fletcher." Founded on Cervantes' *La Ilustre Fregona* (*Nov. Exempl.*). The Host Rowlando was probably acted by Rowley. The Prologue speaks of "our invention." The different spellings, Alberto and Albertus, Bianca and Biancha, are helpful in determining the authorship. Fletcher wrote i. 3, ii. 1, iii. 2, iv. 1 (Alberto, Biancha); Massinger i. 1, 2 (Albertus, Bianca), and revised v. 3, originally Fletcher's. The rest of the play seems to me to be Jonson's. Alberto is not mentioned in the text, but Bianca is uniformly so spelled. At any rate the allusion to Nat. Butter, The New World in the Moon, and Amboyna, iv. 2; to Dr. Lamb and the prophet Ball, v. 2, mark those scenes as his, and the metrical evidence confirming this assignment of ii. 2, 3, 4, iii. 1, iv. 2, v. 1, 2, is very strong. *The Staple of News*, 1625, should be carefully compared throughout this part, which is certainly not Rowley's.

70. *The Noble Gentleman*, C., was licensed 1626, Feb. 3. "By Fletcher." The Prologue and Epilogue, which belong to it, and not to *Thierry and Theodoret* and *The Woman Hater* (*q.v.*), were written late, "at a revival," and are of no authority. The want of proper names in the old editions, as well as the muddled metre and the license date, show that the play was left unfinished by Fletcher. That he was the author we have the positive statement of Herbert, which the reader will probably prefer to Boyle's equally positive statement to the contrary, N. S. S. *Transactions*, 1886. The completion of the play I do not hesitate, on historical grounds, which the metrical analysis (properly subordinate) duly confirms, to assign to William Rowley, probably aided by Middleton. Compare the peculiar use of "faithfully met" in iii. 3 with

"faithfully welcome," *Nice Valor*, iii. 1 (Middleton), and note the use of "dirty" as anti-angelical, ii. 1. I think the Prologue was used at one of the Salisbury Court performances 1644.

All subsequent plays (except the alterations from Fletcher) are by Massinger only, for the King's men.

71. *The Roman Actor*, T. Licensed 1626, Oct. 11. Published 1629; with dedication, actors' character list, and verses by T. J[eay], dedicatee; T. Goff, playwright; T. May, playwright; J. Ford, playwright; R. Harvey, and J. Taylor, actor, who took the part of Paris. Massinger calls it "the most perfect birth of my Minerva," *i.e.*, up to 1629.

72. *The Judge*. Licensed 1627, June 6. The MS. was destroyed by Warburton's servant. But as the title does not occur in Moseley's S. R. entries of 1653, 1660, I believe this was a play that had been already published under another title, very likely *The Fatal Dowry* (see iv. 4, Charalois is "the judge"). If so, the original play may have been by Field alone, and the "reformation" by Massinger. We must be prepared for any number of changes of title in Massinger's plays.

73. *The Honor of Women*. Licensed 1628, May 6. The MS. was destroyed by Warburton's servant; but from the S. R. entry, 1653, Sept. 9, it appears that this was a new title for *The Spanish Viceroy*, which had been acted without license in 1624; on Dec. 20 the King's players made a humble submission to Herbert admitting this. Who wrote the 1624 play is unknown, probably Fletcher; but the 1628 one was certainly only an alteration by Massinger. Cunningham in his edition confuses it with Middleton's *Game at Chess* (see further under *A Very Woman*, later on).

74. *The Picture*, T. C. Licensed 1629, June 8. Published 1630, with an actors' character list. Verses by T. Jay, and dedication. Founded on Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, Nov. 28, or Whetstone's *Rock of Regard*. The same story occurs in Bandello. "Massinger calls it this 'true Hungarian History'" (Gifford).

75. *Minerva's Sacrifice*. Licensed 1629, Nov. 23. In both the S. R. entry 1653, Sept. 9, and in Warburton's list there is a second title, *The Forced Lady*. In all these bi-titled plays we generally have to do, not with original plays by Massinger alone, but with his alterations of other men's work. In this instance I think this is only another name for *The Queen of Corinth* (q.v., *supra*), as altered by Massinger.

76. *The Emperor of the East*, T. C. Licensed 1631, Mar. 4. Published 1631, Nov. 19, with verses by A. Cokain, &c.; dedication; prologues and epilogues, at Court and at Blackfriars. This was Massinger's first Prologue to any play of his own making, forced from him by "imperious custom." I think the Court name of the play was *Feast and Welcome*, and that this, rather than *The Coxcomb*, was the *F[e]ast and Welcome* of Warburton's MS., and of the S. R. entry 1660, June 29. Some read *Taste and Welcome*; but the Court Prologue has "deserve a welcome . . . at such a solemn feast." This "story of reverend antiquity" had suffered by "the envy of some Catos of the stage," yet Massinger says there was no passage but the Queen might hear without a blush. Perhaps so. Henrietta could do a good deal that way, but the severe satire on the King's way of raising money, &c., in i. 2 must have been most unacceptable at Court. This was the latest written of Massinger's plays published in his lifetime.

77. *Believe as you list*, licensed 1631, May 7, but un-

questionably an alteration of the play of Massinger's which Herbert had refused to license, Jan. 11, for its dangerous matter—the deposing of Sebastian of Portugal by Philip of Spain. Massinger altered Sebastian into Antiochus, Spain into Rome, Portugal into Lower Asia, England into Sicily, wrote an ironical Prologue apologising for his historical ignorance, admitted that the play was “too near a late and sad example,” and told his hearers to interpret as they liked, “Believe as you list.” No wonder that he gave serious offence. There are S. R. entries of it 1653, Sept. 9, and 1660, June 29. Warburton had the MS. It was printed by the Percy Society, with Prologue, Epilogue, and actors' character list.

78. *The Unfortunate Piety*. Licensed 1631, June 13, and entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, with the additional title of *The Italian Nightpiece*. In Warburton's list this latter is the only title given. This was certainly some reformed play, for it is not reckoned in the two failures mentioned in *The Guardian* Prologue, and I have no doubt it was *The Double Marriage* (*q.v.*), which contains allusions to both the 1631 titles.

79. *The City Madam*, C. Licensed 1632, May 25. Published 1658 by A. Pennycuicke, the actor, with dedication to Ann Countess of Oxford. This again was an old play altered. It is certainly not one of the two plays that “shipwreckt his fame” mentioned in *The Guardian* Prologue, and the *Dram. Pers.* gives Sir John Rich and Sir John Lacey, which (comparing the present version of the play) have been changed to or from Sir John Frugal and Sir Maurice Lacy. But Pennycuicke expressly mentions Massinger as the author. Unfortunately, we have no confirmation of this statement by Massinger himself. I believe the original play was written c. 1619. In iii. 1 French and

Venetian ambassadors are mentioned as just come over "to make a full term with us." This suits 1619, not 1632. Pocahontas was in England 1616, and all the Virginian matter implies a date when public interest in that country was excited. There is no Prologue or Epilogue; and surely "your neighbour, Master Frugal," in *A new way to pay old debts*, ii. 1, refers to the Frugal in this play. These two plays are the only ones by Massinger alone (as commonly supposed) which have English scenes and names, and the coinage of the names in *The City Madam*, from which, I suppose, *The new way &c.* was imitated, is thoroughly Jonsonian. The dear "roses" for shoes, iv. 4 (cf. *Stow*, 1039), indicates the time of James. The "strange comet, and had now foretold the end of the world," cannot, surely, be long after the great comet of the 1618 winter (see *S. R.* 1619, Jan. 1, 22). There was no other strange comet observed till 1647. The allusion to the pageant poet, iv. 1, is very like Jonson. The metre throughout is far unlike any play of Massinger's, and abounds in trisyllabic feet, as any one with ear delicate enough to require no counting on the fingers will feel on the most cursory perusal. Had the original play been Fletcher's it would have appeared in the 1647 Folio; but these considerations, and the astrological accuracy of ii. 2, leave no doubt in my mind that it was Jonson's. That the play of 1632 was not an original one we have the express testimony of Massinger himself. In the Prologue to *The Guardian*, licensed 1633, Oct. 31, and therefore written somewhat earlier, he says—

"After twice putting forth to sea, his fame
Shipwreckt in either, and his once known name
In two years' silence buried."

This is positive. No play had been produced in Mas-

singer's name since Oct. 1631; therefore *The City Madam* surely was not his. The two shipwrecked vessels were *The Emperor of the East*, 1631, Mar. 11, and *Believe as you list*, 1631, May 7, which leaves two years and a margin of some five months before *The Guardian* came out. As to *The Unfortunate Piety*, see *supra*.

80. *The Guardian*, C. H. Licensed 1633, Oct. 31. Published by Moseley with *The Very Woman* and *The Bashful Lover*, 1655, with Prologue and Epilogue. Performed at Court 1634, Jan. 12, and well liked. Two days after Jonson's *Tale of a Tub* was presented, and not liked; and this obviates an objection to my hypothesis as to *The City Madam*. Why did not Jonson reform that play himself for the King's men? Answer: Because he had left them. It was the Queen's men who presented *The Tale of a Tub*.

81. *Cleander*. Licensed 1634, May 9. *The Wandering Lovers*, or *The Painter*, S. R. 1653, Sept. 9 (see *The Lovers' Progress*, *supra*).

82. *A very Woman*, or *The Prince of Tarent*, T. C. Licensed 1634, June 6. There is an entry S. R. for Moseley 1653, Sept. 9, of *A very Woman*, or *The Woman's Plot*; and the present play was published by him as *A very Woman*, 1655, with Prologue and Epilogue. But among the MSS. destroyed by Warburton's servant was one called *The Woman's Plot*, and "*A Right Woman*, by Beaumont and Fletcher," was entered S. R. by Moseley 1660, June 29. This could not have been *A very Woman*, which he had published already, but may have been, and I think was, *The Woman's Plot* (a play acted at Court 1621), the error in the 1653 entry having arisen from the similarity of the titles, *A very Woman* and *A right Woman*. There is no "Woman's Plot" in the extant play. In the Prologue Massinger says "something like this play" had been "acted long since;" he

had "reviewed it . . . by command . . . of his patron," and "raised new piles upon an old foundation." The patron, I suppose, was the King, the patron of the King's players. That the old play was *The Spanish Viceroy* I have no doubt. The Viceroy of Sicily was Spanish from 1416 to 1734. We first hear of this play in 1624, Dec. 20, when it had been acted by the King's men without Herbert's license. On 1628, May 6, it was licensed. In S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, we find it entered as *The Spanish Viceroy*, or *The Honor of Women*; and in iv. 3 Almira is in the ante-Massinger part called, accordingly, "Honor of Ladies;" while *The Spanish Viceroy*, the other and obnoxious title, even in Massinger's part crops up in i. 1, where Cardenes tells the Prince of Tarent that he is "still subject to the King of Spain." I have no doubt that the 1628 play had been revised by Massinger, for in the Prologue he speaks of the 1634 copy as "much bettered," a phrase he would not have used of another man's work. The Fletcher part still left is ii. 3b to iv. 1 and iv. 3; the rest is Massinger's.

83. *The Orator* was licensed 1635, Jan. 10, and entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9, as *The Orator*, or *The Noble Choice*. As in the case of nearly all these supposed lost plays (for *The Noble Choice* was one of the MSS. destroyed by Warburton's servant), I believe that this was only a reformation of a Fletcher play which I would identify with *The Elder Brother*. That play was acted at Court 1637, Jan. 5, and published S. R. 1637, Mar. 29, with a Prologue and Epilogue evidently Massinger's. In the Prologue he says Fletcher is in it, and he hopes it will be received as legitimately his; but this was long after Fletcher's death (for he adjoins, "if he that made it still lives in your memory"), and at a first performance. It was apparently left unfinished at Fletcher's death. Had it been performed in his lifetime it

would have been in Herbert's license list, for it dates after Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph*, 1625, June: "like a blue Neptune courting of an island," iii. 3. One 1635 title is plainly alluded to in i. 1, where Angelina says her "choice" shall be "a noble husband;" while the other, *The Orator*, is so appropriate to Charles, whom Love teaches to speak, that I can hardly be mistaken in my identification, which is almost forced on me by the absence of any other play fulfilling the required conditions. Massinger's 1635 part is i. 1, 2; v. 1, 2. Fletcher's (the rest) dates 1625. I especially call attention to the fact that, although this play was published as Fletcher's 1637, and again in 1661, Moseley, in an intermediate edition, 1651, has it "written by F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher." This shows not only his inaccuracy, but his motive, and settles the value of his other entries when uncorroborated.

84. *The Bashful Lover*, T. C. Licensed 1636, May 9. Published 1655 with Prologue and Epilogue. The "late example," iv. 3, is the assassination of Wallenstein 1634, Feb. 25. This is the last extant play by Massinger.

85. *The King and Subject*. Licensed 1638, June 5, after it had been referred to the King, who marked one passage in a speech by Don Pedro, King of Spain, as "too insolent." It was on the raising of supplies, &c. The title had also to be altered, perhaps to *The Tyrant*, which was entered S. R. 1660, June 29, and one of the unlucky Warburton MSS. Massinger died 1639, Mar.

86. *Alexius*, or *The Chaste Lover*, was licensed 1639, Sept. 25. In the Warburton list it is called *Alexias*, or *The Chaste Gallant*.

87. *The Fair Anchoress of Pausilippo* was licensed 1640, Jan 26. Entered S.R. 1653, Sept. 9, as *The Prisoner*, or *The Fair Anchoress*.

FLETCHER, PHINEAS. (University.)

1. 1631, April 25, for William Sheeres. *Sicelides*, 1631.

This "piscatory" was intended to be presented to James I. on 13th Mar. 1614, but he left Cambridge without seeing it. It was acted before Charles I. by the gentlemen of King's College, of which Fletcher, leaving Eton, became a member in 1600; was B.A. 1604, M.A. 1608; and died 1649, being then Rector of Hilgay, Norfolk. He was a son of Dr. Giles Fletcher.

MS. copy in Brit. Mus., MS. Addit. 4453.

This would not be a suitable place to discuss his poems.

FORD, JOHN. (Plays.)

7. 1629, June 2, for Henry Seile. *The Lover's Melancholy*, T., 1629.
6. 'Tis pity she's a whore, T., 1633, by Nicholas Okes, for Richard Collins.
9. 1633, Jan. 21, for Hugh Beeston. *Love's Sacrifice*, T., 1633.
8. 1633, Mar. 28, for Hugh Beeston. *The Broken Heart*, T., 1633.
11. 1634, Feb. 24, for Hugh Beeston. *Perkin Warbeck*, H., 1634.
10. 1638, Feb. 3, for Henry Seile. *The Fancies chaste and noble*, T. C., 1638.
12. 1638, Nov. 6, for Henry Sheapard. *The Lady's Trial*, T. C., 1639.
2. *The Sun's Darling*, Mask, 1656.
1. *The Witch of Edmonton*, T. C., 1658.

Ford was baptized at Ilsington, Devonshire, 17th April 1586; entered at the Middle Temple 16th Nov. 1602. In 1606 he published *Honor Triumphant*, or *The Peer's Challenge*, along with *The Monarch's Meeting*, or *The King of*

Denmark's Welcome into England, S. R., for Francis Burton, 25th July 1606; and a little earlier in the same year *Fame's Memorial*, or *The Duke of Devonshire Deceased* (for Christopher Purset; cf. S. R. 9th May 1606). On 25th Nov. 1615 *Sir Thomas Overbury's ghost* was entered S. R. for Laurence Lisle. On 10th Oct. 1620 *A line of life* was entered S. R. for Nathaniel Butters. *Honor Triumphant* and *The Line of Life* were reprinted by the Shakspeare Society.

1. *The Witch of Edmonton* was acted by the Princes[s Elizabeth's] servants at the Cockpit and at Court. I conjecture that the word in brackets had been cut off the MS. before the publication in 1658. The Prince's men did not act at the Cockpit, and Phen (Fenn, not Penn), who spoke the Epilogue, belonged to the regular Cockpit company. Theophilus Bird, who spoke the Prologue, was also one of the Lady Elizabeth's men. Phen's being mistakingly read Penn (who was a Prince's man) probably confirmed the mistake. W. Mago and W. Hamluc acted two countrymen; Rowland and Jack, two of Cuddy's companions. The play was certainly produced soon after the trial of Mother Sawyer, Goodcole's account thereof being entered S. R. 27th April 1621. These topical plays were always hurriedly written, and often several hands were employed against time. In the present play, Ford, I think, contributed the Thorney story, i. 1, 2; ii. 2; iii. 2, 3; iv. 2; Dekker the Sawyer part, ii. 1 (part), iv. 1, and v. 1; Rowley the buffoonery of Cuddy Banks, ii. 1 (part); iii. 1, 4; v. 1 (part). The last scene, as usual, is a joint production (by Ford and Dekker). But the work overlaps a good deal. Dekker was, I think, the chief plotter; certainly not Ford, who was a young hand. The allusions to Dogdays and Midsummer, ii. 1, iii. 1, fix the date of writing to about July 1621.

2. *The Sun's Darling* was acted at Whitehall (*Biog. Dram.*), and afterwards at the Cockpit; "a moral mask," by Ford and Dekker. It was licensed for the Cockpit company. (the Lady Elizabeth's) 3rd Mar. 1624, was retained by the King's and Queen's company in 1639 (see Beeston's list), and given to the press as theirs 1657 by Bird and Pennycuicke. The mask is palpably a refashioning by Ford of an older production of Dekker's, of whose work hardly any traces are left. One supposed trace is very obscure, "Farewell 1538! I might have said five thousand; but the other's long enough, o' conscience," i. 1. It appears from a passage in Dekker's prose works, iii. 355 (Grosart's edition), that he adopted as his date for the Creation 3960 B.C. This would give 1577 for the date of the original play, which is too early. Dekker must have changed his mode of reckoning, or (which is more likely) this date is Ford's; and of the many hypotheses then in vogue we have at present no means of deciding which one was adopted by him for his Creation epoch.

The songs also are evidently in substance Dekker's. Now, one of these was printed in Lyly's *Campaspe* in Blount's 1632 edition, in a form that is evidently the original. This would lead one to suppose that the other songs in that edition which do not appear in the earlier editions are also by Dekker. I for one believe them to be so. There are allusions to *Chronomastix* in i. 1, and *Tamberlane* in iii. 2. Nabbes founded his *Microcosmos* on v. 1. The mask was certainly acted before Prince Charles.

3. *The Fairy Knight*, by Ford and Dekker, was licensed 11th June 1624. Query *Huon of Bordeaux* (q.v.) refashioned.

4. *A late murder of the Son upon the Mother*, T., by Ford and Webster, was licensed 3rd Sept. 1624. Query *The*

Stepmother's Tragedy, by Dekker and Chettle, refashioned. But this would hardly be a *late* murder.

5. *The Bristow Merchant*, by Ford and Dekker, was licensed 22nd Oct. 1624 for the Palsgrave's men [at the Fortune].

These three plays were probably refashionings of old ones; the last perhaps of Day's *Bristol Tragedy* (May 1602).

6. *'Tis pity she's a whore* was acted by Queen Henrietta's men at the Phoenix c. 1626. It was the first-fruits of Ford's leisure, *i.e.*, his first play without a coadjutor, and had been well allowed of, when acted, by the Earl of Peterborough, to whom he dedicated it. So it is now by some critics and publishers (see Vizetelly's edition by Mr. H. Ellis), but not by any well-regulated mind. The passage in the Dedication on which the above statement is founded has been often misunderstood as if this were Ford's first dramatic writing of any kind and the words "my leisure in the action" were grammatically connected. In i. 2, "I hope thou never heardst of an Elder Brother that was a Coxcomb" contain, I think, a personal allusion to Richard Perkins as having acted those parts for the King's men, and now personating Bergetto for the Queen's. This actor left the King's company for the Queen's at Charles the First's accession. The play is in Beeston's 1639 list.

7. *The Lover's Melancholy* was acted at the Globe and the Blackfriars by the King's men; produced 24th Nov. 1628 (Collier).

8. *The Broken Heart* was acted by the King's servants at the Blackfriars c. 1629.

9. *Love's Sacrifice* was acted by the Queen's servants at the Phoenix c. 1630. The "women anticks" of iii. 2 has, I think, reference to the French women who first acted in

London 4th Nov. 1629. Published with complimentary verses by Shirley.

10. *The Fancies Chaste and Noble* was acted by the Queen's servants at the Phoenix; therefore before May 1636. The allusions to old Parr as 112 years old in v. 2, and the entry of Taylor's *Old, old, very old Man* 7th Dec. 1635, show that Parr came to London in or before 1635. Taylor fabricated the exaggeration of Parr's age as being 152. There seems to be an allusion to this play in Shirley's *Changes*, 10th Jan. 1632 (*q.v.*).

11. *The Chronicle History of Perkin Warbeck*, "a strange truth," was acted by the Queen's men at the Phoenix c. 1633:

"Should reverend Morton, our archbishop, move
To a translation higher yet, I tell thee
My Durham owns a brain deserves that see" (iii. 5).

But Morton was not succeeded by Fox, then Bishop of Durham, but by Dene of Salisbury. At the time this play was written another Morton was Bishop of Durham, and Abbott, the Bishop of London, had "both feet in the grave" (Fuller). He died 4th Aug. 1633. On Aug. 16 Laud was appointed his successor. I believe that in this passage there is a covert advocacy of Morton's claim *versus* Laud's.

12. *The Lady's Trial* was acted at the Cockpit by their Majesties' servants; therefore after 17th Aug. 1637. Theophilus Bird spoke the Prologue.

13. *Beauty in a Trance* was entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9.

14. *The Royal Combat*, C., S. R. 1660, June 29.

15. *The London Merchant*, S. R. 1660, June 29.

16. *An ill Beginning has a good End, and a bad Beginning may have a good End*, S. R. 1660, June 29.

The MSS. of these four plays were destroyed by Warburton's servant, but only the first can be regarded as authentic. The last was acted at Court 1613 as *A bad beginning makes*

a good end, and was probably the same as *The London Prodigal* (cf. v. 2, "Such bad beginnings oft have worser ends"). The third was the original name of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (see the Induction; "And now you call your play *The London Merchant*. Down with your title, Boy"), which passage Dyce quite misunderstood.

Ford wrote commendatory verses to Brome's *Northern Lass*, 1632 (King's play); Massinger's *Roman Actor*, 1629 (King's play); and *The Great Duke of Florence*, 1635, Dec. 7 (a Queen's men's play

FORDE, THOMAS. (Play.)

1. *Love's Labyrinth*, or *The Royal Shepherdess*, T. C., 1660, by R. and W. Leybourn, for William Grantham, written "by Tho. Ford, Philothal." This is a dramatisation of Green's *Menaphon*; but Halliwell and *Biog. Dram.* say "part of it is borrowed from Gomersal's [Ludowick] Sforza, Duke of Milan." There are commendatory verses.

FORMIDO, Sir CORNELIUS. (Play.)

1. *The Governor* was entered S. R. 1653, Sept. 9. The MS. was destroyed by Warburton's cook.

FREEMAN, Sir RALPH. (Play.)

1. 1639, Mar. 1, for T. Harper. *Imperiale*, T., 1640, 1655. Scene, Genoa; plot from Beard's *Theatre*, Goulart's *Hist. Admirab.*, &c.

FULWELL, ULPIAN. (Play.)

1. 1568, for John Allde. *Like Will to Like*, 1568, 1587.

Born in Somersetshire 15—; commoner of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

1. *Like will to like, quoth the Devil to the Collier* was probably acted by the Paul's boys 1661 or 1662-3 (see my *History of the Stage*, p. 59). Fulwell is, I think, the Carisophus of Edwardes' *Damon and Pythias*. There was certainly a jealousy between these University writers for

the Paul's and Chapel companies (the only boys' companies 1559-63), as well as between the choir actors.

Fulwell's other writings date 1575-6.

GAGER, DR. WILLIAM. (Latin.)

1. *Ulysses Redux*, T., Oxford, 1592.

2. *Meleager*, T., Oxford, 1592.

Educated at Westminster School; entered Christ Church, Oxford, 1574; B.A., M.A., LL.D. 1589. His controversy with Dr. John Rainolds was printed by Rainolds at Oxford in 1599, *The overthrow of Stage plays*, "by the way of controversy betwixt D. Gager and D. Rainoldes, . . . wherein it is manifestly proved that it is not only unlawful to be an actor, but to be a beholder of these Vanities." In 1609 William Heale published at Oxford an *Apology for Women*, or *An Opposition to Mr. D[ominus] G[ager] his assertion*, "who held in the Act at Oxford, anno 1608, that it was lawful for husbands to beat their wives."

1. c. 1580, *Ulysses Redux*, T., 1592, was acted at Christ Church.

2. 1581, *Meleager*, T., was acted at Christ Church before Lord Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, &c.

3. c. 1579, *Ædipus*, T., by W. Gager, student of Christ Church. Bliss MS.

4. 1583, June, *Rivales*, C., was presented at Christ Church by the students of Christ Church and St. John's before Albertus de Alasco, Polish Prince Palatine; and again before the Queen at Christ Church 26th Sept. 1592. "Meanly performed."

5. 1583, June, *Dido*, T., was acted by the same actors on the same occasion. An extract is given by Dyce in the Appendix to his *Marlow*.

GARTER, THOMAS. (Play.)

1. 1568-9, for Thomas Cqlwell. *Susanna*, C., 1578.

1. *The Comedy of the most virtuous of godly Susanna.*
 "Eight persons may easily play it." No copy now known.

GASCOIGNE, GEORGE. (Plays.)

3. *The Glass of Government*, T. C., 1575, by H. Middleton for C. Barker.

4. *The Princely Pleasures at the Court at Kenilworth*, 1576, by R. Jones.

5. *Hemetes the Hermit*, 1576, with the preceding.

1. *Supposes*, C., } 1587, by A. Jeffes. (Works.)
 2. *Jocasta*, T., }

6. *The Montacute Mask* (Flowers), 1572-3, 1575.

The following notice of Gascoigne is from a paper by me, published by the Royal Historical Society, read 1882, Feb. :—

This poet has lately been brought into notice by the reprint of three of his works by Mr. Arber, along with Whetstone's *Remembrance of his Life and Death*. Mr. Arber tells us that "a consideration of these four works in connexion with his time will doubtless create a favourable opinion both of the genius and *character* of George Gascoigne." This was written in 1868. In the following year Mr. W. C. Hazlitt published an edition of his works: expensive, but inaccurate and incomplete. I have had to use the original editions.

George Gascoigne was son and heir of Sir John Gascoigne, of Cardington, Bedford. Born about 1525; matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge; entered at the Middle Temple, whence he migrated to Gray's Inn, where he was admitted an ancient in 1555. He had seven years before this been imprisoned for dicing and other disreputable practices. Yet from 1557 to 1559 he was M.P. for Bedford. He was disinherited; spent a fortune, however—whence obtained we know not; and was patronised by Francis, Earl of Bedford, and Arthur, Lord Gray of Wilton. Before October

27, 1568, he married Elizabeth Breton, widow of William Breton; for at that date a jury was inquiring, under a writ of *mandamus*, how to protect W. Breton's property against him in the interest of his child William. In 1572 he attempted to become M.P. for Midhurst, but failed, objections having been laid against him before the Privy Council to the effect he had been long lurking about to avoid arrest for debt; that he was defamed for manslaughter and other great crimes; that he was "a deviser of slanderous pasquils against divers persons of great calling;" that he was a spy, notorious ruffian, and atheist. He then went to the wars in Holland, where he was imprisoned, and returned in 1573. He had arranged that the pasquils above alluded to should be published during his absence with other poems. Mr. Hazlitt, who suppresses the most salient differences between the first and second editions, says that these poems were indiscreetly published by two brother authors; but a reference to the first edition has convinced me that the prefaces signed H. W. and G. T. are merely a blind, and that the whole matter was arranged by Gascoigne only. In 1575 he wrote *entertainments* for the Queen at Woodstock and Kenilworth, and acted therein himself. He also visited Sir Humphry Gilbert at Limehouse, borrowed his account of his voyage to Cathay, printed it without the author's knowledge, and, of course, pocketed the proceeds. The rest of his life—two years—he occupied in writing the moral poems on which Mr. Arber founds his estimate of his character. Let us now turn to the poems on which I found my opinion.

The narrative of the adventures of *Ferdinando Jeronymi*, which is the pasquil which was brought before the notice of the Privy Council, is concerned with his amour with Leonora Bellavista, or Elinor Belvoir: this lady is married to the son of Valasco. Gascoigne accuses her not only of adultery

with himself, but also with her secretary, and with Hercole Donato and Annibal de Cosmis. Now, seeing that Elinor Belvoir points pretty plainly to Elinor Manners, daughter of George Manners, Lord Ross, heir to the barony of Belvoir, and wife to John Bouchier, Earl of Bath, it is not surprising that Gascoigne was accused of defaming a lady of great calling from "the northern parts of this realm." Of course, the words here quoted are omitted in the second edition of his poems and in Mr. Hazlitt's reprint. Valasco I take to be a sort of anagram for Val. Aq. So., the vale of *Aqua Solis*, the Latinised name of Bath. The poems scattered through the narrative, especially those on *David and Bethsabe* and on *Mars and Venus*, connect this story with the poems signed with the motto *Meritum petere grave*. The tale itself is signed *Ever or never*, but in the group of poems with that signature, as in those signed *Spreta tamen vivunt*, there is little of a distinctly personal or interpretable character; except that in them he speaks of his "grey hair" and his "green youth past," which, seeing that one poem of the group is dated 1562, is hardly consistent with Mr. Arber's notion that he was born in 1537. Nearly every poem in the *Meritum petere grave* group agrees with the tale of Ferdinando in detail, and one is even entitled *Praise of a Countess*, as if to give an additional indication of the lady pointed at. The Earl of Bath died in 1561, so that the events alluded to in these two groups must date before that year.

If we now turn to the story of *Bartholomew of Bath*, which is acknowledged to be autobiographical even by the editors, who consider the *Ferdinand* story to be fictitious, we shall not find matters improved. I may remark in passing that Gascoigne himself identifies Bartello, the fictitious author of both poems, with the Green Knight, who is assuredly Gascoigne himself:—

“That same knight which there his griefs begun
Is Bat's own father's sister's brother's son ;”

and as he also identifies Bartello and Bartholomew, I am at a loss to understand how the authenticity of both sets of adventures can be evaded. In the poems of the Bartholomew group, Gascoigne complains that his second love, whom he calls *Ferenda*, which is merely a synonym of the next name, *Natura*, “to be borne,” *Hollow tree*, Livia, had forsaken him after granting him favour for a time ; that she intrigued with Admirals and Noble Face ; that she banqueted with Ippocrace, but charmed him with bracelets, preferred printed poems to his written triumphs, and much more to the same purpose. From a passage in *Ferdinando* it appears that the real name of this second love was Helen, and that Gascoigne used poems written for Elinor or Hellen indifferently by the device of using Nell as a pet name applicable to either. I take Hellen to be Helen Suavemberg, who married William Parr, Baron of Kendal, and afterwards Marquis of Northampton. The hollow tree, his special name for her, is a common metrical synonym for a boat, and Hellen Suavemberg's arms were “a lighter boat in fesse.” The Admiral, I suppose, must have been Edward, Lord Clinton and Say ; the Noble Face is probably another translation of Belvoir : but the whole of these allusions are too obscure for certainty. What is certain is that Gascoigne had to retire from Court and went to Bath ; within a year or so he married—not happily, if we may judge from his poems. The few poems signed *Ferenda Natura* should be read with the *Bartholomew* story ; whether those signed *Si fortunatus infelix* should is doubtful. In one of them there is a lady who rejects Gascoigne and marries a baser man, being induced thereto by sweet gloves and broken rings. Gascoigne says their names are bewrayed in the poem, but

I cannot find them, unless the "gorged hawk" alludes to Hellen Suavemberg's second marriage with Thomas Gorge.

One detail, the statement that he was charmed by bracelets, singularly illustrates the history of a more important person. In *L'innocence de la très illustre, très chaste et debonnaire Princesse, Madame Marie, Reine d'Ecosse, &c.*, we read: "Above all the Countess of Lennox" (one of Ferenda's associates, by the way, whom Gascoigne calls "another ox right lean," just as he indicates F. Pierrepont as the "Bridge with stony arch," and Jane Stanhope, who married Sir Roger Townshend, as "one who dwells at Town's end"), "Darnley's mother and maternal aunt to Her Majesty, besieged her with letters and secret messages, and enchanted her with a pair of bracelets which she sent to her; and the threats of the Bastard, the Queen's half-brother, the practices of this lady, the entreaties of several others, and the force of this charm (let no one find this strange, seeing that the island of Albion has in all times been made infamous by sorcerers), were the cause of her condescending to their will and marrying as she did." This was published in Paris in 1572, and simultaneously with Gascoigne's first poems. But to return.

We have here a poet and soldier, highly honoured at Court, in frequent personal communication with the good Queen; one who took a prominent part in her reception at Kenilworth; one whose published poems were commended by Stanyhurst, Chalonier, Whetstone, Raleigh—in fact, by a score of well-known poets; one whose works are reprinted for our edification, and recommended to us with confidence that we shall form a favourable opinion of the poet's character, and on examining these works what do we find? A man who openly boasts of his adulteries, and who shrinks

not from exposing himself to any charge if he can only involve in it the unfortunate women who were his associates in wrong-doing; a man many of whose poems are as lewd as any others of his time, and far more filthy in expression; a coward who took advantage of his absence from England to print his scurrilous libels with misleading signatures, which he tried to evade and had to disavow on his return; a man with no redeeming feature but personal courage to counterbalance all these and other defects, such as gaming, prodigality, and the like. Nevertheless he was a favourite of our good Queen, under whom freedom was established, and in his last years he wrote moral rhymes.

1. *Supposes*, C., Englished from Ariosto. Presented at Gray's Inn 1566. "Doctor Dotipole" occurs in i i., which shows the antiquity of this name. "Saint Nicolas' fast," i. 2, Dec. 26, points to a Christmas performance. The use of "etc.," ii. 4, where it evidently indicates "gag" to be introduced by the actor, removes all doubt as to the meaning of this word in later plays. "Set up his rest" is fully explained in iii. 2. "Sporet" (sport), iii. 4, is important as showing the pronunciation of words with *rt*, *rd*, &c. "Call me cut" occurs iv. 5.

2. *Jocasta*, T., translated from Euripides and "digested into act" by G. Gascoigne (ii., iii., v.) and F. Kinwelmarsh (i., iv.), was presented at Gray's Inn 1566, probably at Christmas, with *Supposes*. There are Dumb Shows and Choruses.

3. *The Glass of Government*, T. C., was dedicated to Sir Owen Hopton 1575, April 26. In the Prologue Gascoigne mentions "Bell Savage Fair" as fit for merry jests and vain delights, as well as Enterludes and Italian toys. The work was compiled on "sentences set down by C. B[arker]," for whom the book was printed. In i i. "our eldest sons are

near the age of xxi. years, and our younger sons not much more than one year behind them; . . . they therefore will shortly be ready for the University," shows that the age of matriculation was usually c. 19, as now, and that the early entrances so often met with in dramatic biography were cases of exceptional talent. Gnomaticus of St. Antline's and Lord Barlemonte were no doubt real persons, but I cannot identify them. In i. 4 we find that the education of a boy of 19 consisted in Grammar (Latin, of course), Erasmus' *Colloquies*, Cicero's *Offices*, and Latin verses. By 20, if he had also read some of Terence's *Comedies*, some of Cicero's *Epistles*, some Virgil, and entered on Greek Grammar, he "had not lost his time." Shakespeare probably left school at about 14, before even the Latin verse stage. The Choruses are in verse. Dick Drum, as a character-name, should be compared with Marston's Jack Drum and Shakespeare's Tom Drum.

4. *The Princely pleasures at the Court at Kenilworth*, in which Leicester acted as Deep Desire and Gascoigne as a Wild man, was presented 1575, July 9-14. Hunneys, Badger, Ferrars, Muncaster (or Paton), Goldingham (the original Arion in the Dolphin so often alluded to by later writers), all contributed; but Gascoigne was the chief author. Part of his show, however, was not presented. Compare Laneham.

5. *The Tale of Hemetes the Hermit*, in which Gascoigne again appeared as a Wild man, was presented at Woodstock 1575, Sept. It was published in English, Latin, Italian, and French.

6. A Device of a *Mask for Viscount Montacute* (Antony Brown), at the marriages of his son and daughter to the daughter and son of Sir William Dormer. In Venetian costume. The Siege of Famagosta, 1571, Aug., is mentioned

in it, and it was published early in 1573. It must date, then, c. 1572.

GEDDES, Dr. (Latin.)

1. *Julius Cæsar*, acted at Christ Church, Oxford, 1582.

GLAPTHORNE, HENRY. (Plays.)

4. 1639, Jan. 11, for Daniel Pakeman. *Argalus and Parthenia*, T., 1639.

8. 1639, Sept. 23, for George Hutton. *Albertus Walenstein*, T., 1640.

3. 1640, April 4, for Francis Constable. *The Ladies' Priviledge*, C., 1640.

5. 1640, April 27, for Francis Constable. *Wit in a Constable*, C., 1640.

2. 1640, May 22, for Widow Wilson. *The Hollander*, C., 1640.

1. Eger. MS. 1994, *The Lady Mother*, C.

1. 1635, Oct 15, *The Lady Mother* was licensed by W. Blagrave, "the reformations observed" [for the Revels Company at Salisbury Court; cf. ii. 1, "This boy does sing as like the boy at Whitefriars as ever I heard"]. Probably the same play as *The Noble Trial*, S. R. 1660, June 29, of which one MS. [the stage one] was destroyed by Warburton's cook. The MS. from which Mr. A. H. Bullen prints the play was the copy corrected by Blagrave. For a probable third title see the last line—

"There is no Arraignment like to that of Love."

From ii. 1 it appears that one of the musicians was called Jarvis. In the same scene *The Fine Companion* (Marmion's, acted by the Prince's men at Salisbury Court) and *Joan's as good as my Lady* (by Heywood; altered, I think, into *A Maidenhead well Lost*, acted by Queen Henrietta's men at

the Cockpit) are alluded to. Both these plays were probably still on the stage.

2. *The Hollander* was acted at the Cockpit and before their Majesties at Court by their Majesties' servants. Written in 1635; but "then acted" in the title must mean *thereafter* acted, for their Majesties' company did not exist till 1637. All local allusions in the play agree with 1635 as the date of writing.

3. *The Ladies' Priviledge* was acted at the Cockpit and before their Majesties at Whitehall twice by their Majesties' servants. Glapthorne is called "the new author" in the Prologue. The title is alluded to in Brome's *Mad Couple well matched*, a play which also belonged to their Majesties' players, who had retained it from Queen Henrietta's. *The Ladies' Priviledge* was probably acted, but not written, before *The Hollander* in 1636.

4. *Argalus and Parthenia* was acted at Court before their Majesties and at the Cockpit by their Majesties' servants probably in 1638. It is founded on *The Arcadia* of Sidney.

5. *Wit in a Constable* was written in 1639, and acted at the Cockpit, but not at Court, by their Majesties' servants. In v. 2 the "swine-faced gentlewoman" is said to have been introduced in two plays; but the plays seem not to be extant. This play is clearly an older version refurbished. Thoroughgood and Tristram in i., ii., iii. become Freewit and Grimes in iv., v.; and the occasional retention of the earlier names in iv., v. shows that this was the part of the play rewritten. The older part dates probably c. 1636.

6. *The Duchess of Fernandina*, T., entered S. R. 1660, June 29, with *The Noble Trial*, is lost, the MS. having been destroyed by Warburton's servant, as well as that of

7. *The Vestal*, T., which, not having been entered S. R., was probably a second title of some other play; perhaps of *Argalus and Parthenia*.

8. *Albertus Wallenstein*, T., was acted by the King's men at the Globe, but not at Court. Chronologically, it must come either first or last of Glapthorne's plays. In deference to general opinion, I should have noticed it first; but my own belief is that it should stand last. I think that it could hardly have been written in 1634, immediately after Wallenstein's death, 25th Feb. 1634, although such plays as represented contemporaneous history sometimes succeeded the facts without delay. Compare, for instance, Fletcher's *Barnavelde*. For, on the other hand, a passage in v. 1 :—

“Retreat into that fortress of your mind,
Your resolution; call it up to guard
Your soul from timorous thoughts! Are you the man
Have swayed the Roman empire *four-and-twenty* years,” &c.,

requires for fact and metre (which is terribly mangled in the printed copy) that we should read *fourteen* (xiv. for xxiv.), for Ferdinand had in 1634 been Emperor fourteen years. Of course this error may have been accidental, but as in 1639, the date I would give to the play, Charles I. had been King just fourteen years, I suspect that the alteration was intentional, to avoid suspicion of any covert allusion to him. It is more likely that Glapthorne's career should end with the principal company than that it should begin there; and all his early plays seem to have been comedies.

9. *Revenge for Honor*. See Anonymous plays.

Glapthorne also published *Poems* in 1639, and *Whitehall*, a poem, in 1642. I have not been able to identify the Lucinda of the poems. Among these is that *To*

*Ezechiel Fenn*¹ "at his first acting a man's part," viz., after 1635, when he acted Sophonisba in Nabbes' *Hannibal and Scipio*.

GOFFE, THOMAS. (University Plays.)

1. 1631, Sept. 7, for Richard Meighen. *The Raging Turk* (Bajazet 2), T., 1631, 1656.
2. 1631, Sept. 7, for Richard Meighen. *The Courageous Turk* (Amurath 1), T., 1632, 1656.
3. *Orestes*, T., 1633, 1656.
4. *The Careless Shepherdess*, P. T. C., 1656.

Born in Essex c. 1592; educated at Westminster School; entered as student of Christ Church, Oxford, 1609; B.A., M.A.; preferred to the living of East Clendon, Surrey, 1623. Died July 1627. The "three excellent tragedies," 1, 2, 3, as they are called in the 1656 edition, were written after he took his M.A. degree [c. 1615], and before his leaving the University in 1623. They were acted by the Christ Church students; he spoke the Prologue to *Orestes* himself. 4. *The Careless Shepherdess* was acted before the King and Queen at Salisbury Court; therefore not earlier than 1629. It has an Induction, the scene of which is in Salisbury Court, and which must, therefore, be dated after Goffe's death. The scene of the play is in Arcadia. To the printed copy an erroneous list of all plays then in print is appended. Some catalogues mention a Pastoral called *The Careless Shepherd*; perhaps the same play.

GOLDINGHAM, WILL. M. (Latin.)

1. MS., Univ. Library, Cambridge. *Herodes*, T.; dedicated to Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst.

¹ In my *History of the Stage*, p. 321, the printer has made Fenn act the Duke of Mantua in 1631 by omitting to bracket this character with the "Merchant" above, acted by Axen.

GOMERSAL, ROBERT. (Play.)

1. 1628, Feb. 27, for John Marriott. *Ludovick Sforza, Duke of Milan*, T., 1628, 1633.

Born in London 1600; student at Christ Church, Oxford, 1614; B.A. c. 1621; M.A., B.D.; left Oxford 1627; published his *Poems* and play 1628; afterwards held the living of Flower, Northamptonshire. An enlarged edition of his *Poems* and play appeared in 1633. The play was probably never acted.

GOSSON, STEPHEN. (Plays.)

Born in Kent 1554; scholar of Christ Church, Oxford, 4th April 1572; came to London 1576. Wrote pastorals (plays), one of which was 1. *Catiline's Conspiracies*, which was acted at the Theater; then wrote his *School of Abuse* against plays 1579, and dedicated it to Sidney. Then two more of his plays, 2. The comedy of *Captain Mario*, "a cast of Italian devices," and 3. *Praise at Parting*, a moral, came to the stage; and Lodge answered his tractate, which Gosson had amplified, by *A Short Apology of the School of Abuse*, appended to his *Ephemerides of Phialo*, 1579. Then Gosson answered Lodge in his *Plays confuted in Five Actions* [1581-2]. He also wrote *Quips for Upstart New-fangled Gentlewomen*, 1596. He was a private tutor in the country before taking orders; published 1598 *The Trumpet of War*; preached at Paul's Cross; then became parson of Great Wigborow, Essex; and finally rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, from 1600 to 1623, Feb. 13, when he died. He wrote verses for Florio's *First Fruits*, 1578; Nicholas' *West Indies*, 1578; and Kerton's *Mirror of Man's Life*, 1580. See Lodge for further particulars.

The chief interest in Gosson now centres in the theatrical allusions in his writings. Thus, in his *School of Abuse*, p. 11 (reprint by the Shak. Soc.), his mention of the lion's skin

upon Æsop's ass and Hercules' shoes on a child's feet goes far to settle the reading in *King John*, i. 2, 144 (my edition); p. 20, he tells us the first comedies smelt of Plautus (this is important), those of our days (1579) taste of Menander; p. 29, the access to the theatres (built 1576) had been restrained many times; p. 30, he mentions two prose books performed at the Bell Savage, *The Jew and Ptolemy* at the Bull, *The Blacksmith's Daughter* and *Catiline's Conspiracy* at the Theater, on all which see my *History of the Stage*, and under their titles in the present work.

In his *Third Blast*, 1580, p. 123 (Hazlitt's *Roxburgh Library*), he says, "My wits were exercised in the invention of those follies;" p. 143, he refers to "The tragical comedy of *Calistus*, where the bawdress Scelestina inflamed the maiden *Melebeia* with her sorceries;" p. 147, "Need and Flattery are two brothers, and the eldest servitors in the Court; they were both scholars unto Aristippus." This alludes to the Fulwell and Edwards quarrel of 1561-4, on which see my *History of the Stage*, p. 60; and finally, p. 145, he refers to the children actors as "pigmies," and to the play of *Pompey*.

In his *Plays confuted*, 1582, p. 188, he again refers to *Pompey* and *The Fabii* as acted at the Theater, and says "*The Palace of Pleasure, The Golden Ass, The Ethiopian History, Amatis of France, The Round Table*," bawdy comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, have been thoroughly ransacked to furnish the playhouses in London. In pp. 189, 202, *The Play of* [about] *Plays* is said to have been acted at the Theater 29th Feb. last; i.e., in 1580, the last Leap-year. This proves that my conjecture was right. Leicester's men acted it at Theater then, and as the play of *Delight* at the Court 1580, Dec. 26. The characters are given by Collier: Life, *Delight*, Zeal, Glut, Re-

creation, and Tediousness. In p. 189 we also find mention of the song of *The Maid of Kent* and the speech of *The Stalled rogue* [not "rage," as printed].

GOUGH, J. (Play.)

1. 1640, Jan. 31, for William Leake. *The Strange Discovery*, T. C., by J. G., 1640. Some copies have the name J. Gough in full. This play is founded on *Theagines and Chariclea*, by Heliodorus (compare *The Queen of Ethiopia*, Anon. 66).

GREVILLE, FULKE, Lord BROOKE. (Plays.)

1. 1608, Nov. 25, for Nathaniel Butter. *Mustapha*, T., 1609, 1633.

2. 1632, Nov. 10, for Henry Seile. *Alaham*, T., 1633.

Born at Beauchamp Court, Warwickshire, 1554; Fellow-Commoner of Trinity, Cambridge; afterwards studied at Oxford; travelled on the Continent; was introduced at Court; held lucrative appointment in the Marches of Wales; was knighted 1597; Member for Warwickshire and Knight of the Bath 1603; Chancellor of the Exchequer 1615; Baron Brooke of Beauchamp Court 1620; Lord of the Bedchamber 1621. Was mortally stabbed by a serving-man 30th Sept. 1628.

His plays were on the Seneca model, with Choruses and Inductions; probably not acted. His poems, &c., are beyond the scope of this work.

GREENE, ROBERT. (Plays.)

2. 1593, Dec. 7, for John Danter. *Orlando Furioso*, H., 1594. Transferred to Cuthbert Burbye 28th May 1594, and printed for him by Danter.

5. 1594, May 14, for E. White. *Bacon and Bunguy*, H., 1594, 1599, 1630, 1655.

8. 1594, May 14, for T. Creede. *James 4*, H., 1598.

10. *Selimus*, H., 1594, for T. Creede.

1. *Alphonsus of Arragon*, C. H., 1599, for T. Creede.
This and the preceding play, not in S. R., were
no doubt obtained by Creede in 1594 (compare
James 4).
3. 1595, April 1, for Cuthbert Burbye. *The Pinner
of Wakefield*, C., 1599.

NON-DRAMATIC WORKS.

1580, Oct. 3, for Thomas Woodcock. *Mamillia*, "a
Mirror or Looking-glass for the Ladies of England. By
Robert Greene, Graduate in Cambridge," 1583.

1581. Mar. 20, for Edward White. A ballad on *Youth's
Repentance*. Not extant. "By Greene."

1581, July 10, for Richard Jones. *The Exhortation of
London unto her children, &c.*, is probably the same work
(though somewhat differing in title) as *The Exhortation, &c.*,
"by R. G.," printed for N. Ling 1584 (see Collier, iii. 149,
and compare S. R.). Not extant.

The Mirror of Modesty, 1584, for Roger Ward, "by R.
G., Master of Arts," was probably Greene's next work, and
written 1583.

Planetomachia, 1585, for Thomas Cadman, "by Robert
Greene, Master of Arts and Student in Physic," was almost
certainly produced in 1583, when the conjunction of Saturn
and Jupiter on 22nd April excited much attention to
popular astronomy.

1583, Sept. 6, for W. Ponsonby. *Mamillia*, the second
part of *The Triumph of Pallas*, 1593, "by Robert Greene,
Master of Arts in Cambridge." Dated 7th July, "from my
study in Clare Hall."

1584, April 11, for W. Ponsonby. *Gwidonius, The Card
of Fancy* (with the debate between Folly and Love trans-

lated from the French), "by Robert Greene, Master of Art in Cambridge," 1584, 1587, 1593, 1608.

1584, Aug. 13, for Hugh Jackson. *Arbasto, The Anatomy of Fortune* (The King of Denmark's love to fair Doralicia), 1626, "by Robert Greene, Master of Art. *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*" [but this is a late and probably altered title]. To which is usually added Gale's *Pyramus and Thisbe*.

Morando, The Tritameron of Love, 1584, for Edward White, "by Robert Greene, Master of Arts in Cambridge;" 1587, by John Wolfe.

1586, Aug. 8, for E. White. *Morando* (including the second part, 1587, by J. Wolfe for E. White, "by Robert Greene, Master of Arts in Cambridge").

1587, June 11, for Edward Aggas. *Greene's Farewell to Folly* (but not then published).

1587, June 26, for Thomas Cadman and E. Aggas. *Penelope's Web* (with three Comical histories), "by Robert Greene, Master of Arts in Cambridge. *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*" [1587], 1601.

1587, Sept. 18, for E. White. *Euphues, his censure to Philautus* (Hector and Achilles). "*Robertus Greene, in artibus Magister, Ea habentur optima, &c.*" Dedicated to the Earl of Essex, 1587, 1634.

1588, Mar. 29, for E. White. *Perimedes the Blacksmith*. "*Omne . . . dulci.*" Dedicated to Gervase Clifton, 1588.

1588, May 1, for T. Cadman, "two copies, whereof he is to bring the titles." One of these was probably *Pandosto, The Triumph of Time, Temporis filia Veritas* (Dorastus and Fawnia), "by Robert Greene, Master of Arts in Cambridge. *Omne . . . dulci;*" 1588, for T. Cadman; 1607, 1609, 1614, 1619, 1629, 1632, 1636, 1655, &c.

1588, Dec. 9, for John Wolfe (who probably printed it

for E. White). *Alcida, Greene's Metamorphosis*, 1617, "by R. G. *Omne . . . dulci*" (late title; probably altered).

Ciceronis Amor, Tully's Love, by R. Robinson for T. Newman and J. Winnington, 1589, "by Robert Greene, *in artibus magister. Omne . . . dulci.*" Dedicated to L. Strange, 1592, 1597, 1601, 1605, 1609, 1611, 1615, 1616, 1628, 1639.

1589, Feb. 1, for Thomas Cadman. *The Spanish Masquerado*, "by Robert Greene, *in artibus Magister*," 1589, *bis*.

1589, Aug. 23, for Sampson Clark. *Menaphon, Camilla's alarm to slumbering Euphues* [Lyly, *q.v.*] *in his melancholy cell at Silixedra*. "Robertus Greene, *in artibus Magister. Omne tulit punctum*," with address by Nash. 1589, 1599, 1605, 1610 (*Greene's Arcadia*), 1616, 1634.

1590, Feb. 9, for E. White. *Greene's Orpharion* (Orpheus and Arion), 1599. "*Omne . . . dulci. Robertus Greene, in artibus Magister*" (late title; probably altered).

1590, April 15, for Thomas Nelson. *Cornucopia, or The Royal Exchange*, 1590, I. Charlewood for W. Wright. "*Rob. Greene, in artibus Magister.*" Translated from the Italian.

Never too late, or A Powder of Experience. "Rob. Greene, *in artibus Magister. Omne tulit punctum.*" 1590, by T. Orwin for N. L[ing] and J. Busbie.

Francesco's Fortunes, or 2 Never too late, 1590, for N. L[ing] and J. Busbie. "*Sero sed serio. Robertus Greene, in Artibus Magister.*" 1600, 1607, 1616, 1621, 1631, n.d.

1590, Nov. 2, for J. Wolfe. *Greene's Mourning Garment*, 1590, 1597, 1616, by G. Purslowe. "By R. Greene, *utriusque Academicæ in artibus Magister. Sero sed serio*" (late title; apparently not altered).

Greene's Farewell to Folly, 1591, by T. Scarlet for T. Gubbin and T. Newman. "*Sero sed serio. Robert Greene,*

utriusque Academicæ in artibus Magister." 1617 (cf. 1587, June 11).

1591, Dec. 6, for T. Nelson. *A Maiden's Dream*. On the death of Sir Christopher Hatton [Nov. 20], "by Robert Greene, Master of Arts," 1591.

1591, Dec. 13, for E. White and T. Nelson, 1 *Conycatching*. 1591, *A Notable Discovery of Cozenage*, for T. N. "*Nascimur pro patria*, by R. Greene, Master of Arts;" 1592.

1591, Dec. 13, for E. White and T. Nelson, 2 *Conycatching*; 1591, for W. Wright; 1592, with new additions. "*Mallem non esse quam non prodesse patriæ*. R. G."

1592, Feb. 7, for T. Scarlet. 3 *Conycatching* (with Foottaking), 1592, by T. Scarlet for C. Burbie, "by R. G."

He and She Conycatcher (Thief and Whore), with the Conversion of an English Courtesan, 1592. "*Nascimur pro Patria*. By R. G." 1592, by A. I[slip] for T. G[ubbins].

Thieves falling out True men come by their Goods, or *The Bellman wanted a Clapper*. A peal of new Villanies rung out. 1615, for T. G[ubbins]; "By Robert Greene." [Evidently near in date to the preceding.] 1617, 1637.

1592, July 1, for E. White. *Philomela, The Lady Fitzwater's Nightingale*, 1592, 1615. "By Robert Greene. *Utriusque Academicæ in Artibus Magister. Sero sed serio.*" 1631, n.d.

1592, July 21, for J. Wolfe. *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (Velvet Breeches and Cloth Breeches), 1592 (three editions, one non-extant containing the attack on the Harveys), 1606, 1615, 1620, 1625, 1635. Chiefly taken from *Pride and Lowliness*; usually, but wrongly, ascribed to F. Thynne.

1592, Aug. 21, for T. Nelson. *The Black Book's Messen-*

ger (Ned Browne the Cutpurse). *Nascimur pro patria*. "By R. G.," 1592.

Greene's Vision, written at the instant of his Death [3rd Sept. 1592]. "*Sero sed serio*," for T. Newman [1592].

1592, Sept. 20, for W. Wright. *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, bought with a Million of Repentance. Published [by Chettle] at his dying request, 1592, 1596, 1600, 1616, 1617. "*Felicem fuisse infaustum*," 1620, 1621, 1629, 1637, n.d.

1592, Oct. 6, for J. Danter. *The Repentance of Robert Greene*, Master of Arts, 1592, for Cuthbert Burbie.

Robert Greene, born at Norwich, took his B.A. degree at St. John's, Cambridge, 1578, having previously travelled in Italy and Spain, where he practised "such villany as is abominable to declare," his proneness to mischief being due to his mother's pampering and secretly supplying him with money. Immediately after his B.A. he must, if the dates in *Francesco's Fortunes* are to be trusted, have married a wife, with whom he lived for seven years. No doubt exists that Francesco as well as Roberto in *The Farewell to Folly* are impersonations of Greene himself; still, some allowance must be made for the necessities of romance. According to this Francesco account, Isabel eloped with him from near Caerbranck (Brancaster, in Norfolk), where Francesco lived, and the marriage took place at Dunecastrum (Doncaster), whither her father pursued them, and imprisoned Francesco on a charge of felony. He was freed, and got wealth by teaching of a school. After five years they were reconciled to Isabel's father, and visited him at Caerbranck. This would be in 1583, when Greene had taken his M.A. at Clare Hall, from which college he dated 2 *Mamillia*, 7th July. At this time he was a "student in phisic" (see *Planetomachia*). On 19th June 1584 he, having taken

orders, was presented to the vicarage of Tollesbury, in Essex (Oct. Gilchrist), no doubt the place where he had been schoolmaster. In 1585 c. Mar. he resigned his position there, and went to London (Troynovant), leaving his wife, by whom he had one son "six years" (in round numbers), before the Francesco story was published, c. Oct. 1590. In 1586, March (if I am right in identifying him with "Robert the Parson"), he went to Denmark as actor as Leicester's man, and was in Saxony in October. The only work of his appearing in London at this time was 2 *Morando*, which had, it seems, been in the publisher's hands from 1584. On his return, "three years" (round numbers again) after leaving his wife, who had returned to Lincolnshire (Repentance), and forming a connexion with Infida (Cutting Ball's sister, by whom he had a son, Fortunatus), Francesco took to writing plays. From the Roberto narrative it appears that the actor who introduced him to the company for which he wrote (the Queen's men) had once played "fardle a footback," had now "playing apparel" worth more than £200, was famous in acting *Del Phrygus* and *The King of Fairies*, *The 12 Labors of Hercules* and *The Highway to Heaven*, had penned *Man's Wit*, a moral; *Dives*, a dialogue, and "for seven years' space was absolute interpreter of the puppets;" an extempore rhymers, whose "almanac" is now out of date. This can be only Robert Wilson. In *Perimedes*, S. R. 29th Mar. 1588, he resumed his "old posy," *omne tulit punctum*, which he abandoned in *Euphues' censure* for *Ea habentur*, &c., and had first used in *Penelope's Web*. "Two gentlemen poets made two madmen of Rome (i.e., London), beat it out of their paper bucklers" (i.e., pamphlets; the phrase does not necessarily refer to plays, as R. Simpson takes it); but Greene expressly adds, "I but answer in print what they have uttered on the stage."

These mottoes of Greene's are the key to the chronology of his writings; they are carefully displayed in the list of his prose works already given, chiefly in view of that question. These poets had also derided him for the inferiority of his blank verse to that of *Tamberlane* and "The mad priest of the sonne" (Dyce, p. 35). This must refer to his *Alphonsus*, written in direct rivalry to *Tamberlane*. Their motto allusion I am unable to identify; but the two poets, whom Greene further describes as novices, pothouse frequenters, and bred of Merlin's race, must, I think, have been Marlow (Marlin) and Kyd. In this year, 1588, Greene was incorporated at Oxford, and from the Latin verses prefixed to *Alcida*, 9th Dec., it appears that up to this time he was suffering from a tedious fever in the country.

On 23rd Aug. 1589 *Menaphon* was entered S. R. The "dark enigmas or strange conceits" in Greene's address are his way of acknowledging that the work is a personal satire (compare "if I speak mystically" in the address to *Tully's Love*). The clown Doron, p. 74 (Arber's reprint), makes this speech: "We had a ewe among our rams whose fleece was as white as the hairs that grow on father Boreas' chin, or as the dangling dewlap of the Silver Bull; her front curled like to the Erimanthian Boar, and spangled like to the worsted stockings of Saturn; her face like Mars treading upon the milk-white clouds; . . . her eyes like the fiery torches tilting against the moon." In *The Taming of a Shrew*, Sc. 2, Kate is described as "whiter than icy hair that grows on Boreas' chin" (this Mr. Simpson pointed out); in Sc. 5 Aurelius' love is "as fair as is the milk-white way of Jove." In *Hamlet*, iii. 4, 56 (a play founded by Shakespeare on an old play of Kyd's: see Kyd), we still read even in the altered play:—

"Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself,
An eye like Mars;"

where Q1 has "a face to outface Mars himself;" and that Kyd was the author satirised is clear from the reference in Nash's address (compare Nash) to "the Kid" in Æsop and the "whole Hamlets of tragical speeches." Had we the old *Hamlet* as we have *The Taming of a Shrew*, I have no doubt we should be able to track out all Doron's allusions. But this Doron shepherd (*i.e.*, verse-writer) must not be confused with "the vainglorious tragedians" of Nash's address. These are clearly actors, among whom there is one Roscius (R. Wilson); he is identified with the actor who introduced Greene to the Queen's men by the mention of *The King of Fairies* and *Delphrigus*, and by his name with the Roscius of *Francesco's Fortunes*, who is taught by the Cobbler (Marlow, the Cobbler's son) to say *Are Caesar* (cf. Marlow's *Edward 3*, i. 1, 164), and is as actor "prankt with the glory of others' feathers." This brings us to the determination of the company with which Greene was so incensed. It had been a strolling company, and was now rivalling the Queen's men. It was Pembroke's, of course; and accordingly we find that *The Taming of a Shrew* was acted by Pembroke's men, and that Marlow also wrote for them (see *Edward 2*). Moreover, *The Taming of a Shrew*, *Hamlet*, 3 *Henry 6*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Edward 3* all passed (no doubt together) from Pembroke's to the Chamberlain's men, and all these were in some way connected with Shakespeare, and were originally written, in my opinion, by either Marlow or Kyd. My hypothesis as to the identification of Melicert with Lyly, Menaphon (whom Doron, "his next neighbour," plainly imitates; compare pp. 31 and 74) with Marlow, and Pleusidippus with Greene is too conjectural to claim further notice here; but I think that Moron, lately deceased, is surely Tarleton; and as to Marlow, there cannot be

much doubt that in p. 54 he is described as "prophetical" (Merlin), "full mouth" (cf. "every word filling the mouth like the Fa burden of Bowbell," *Perimedes*), teller of a "Canterbury tale" (Marlow was born at Canterbury), "as he were a Cobler's eldest son" (he was so).

In 1590 *Never too late* was published. I have already utilised the first part, *The Palmer's Tale* of Francesco, which is recognised as autobiographical. The continuation of *Francesco's Fortunes* in Part 2 is, however, not so. It contains a reunion with his wife, which, if Greene desired it at this time, as I suppose he did, never came to pass. But there is another story, *The Host's tale*, which requires notice. Mullidor "was of honest parents, but very poor; . . . cast in Æsop's mould; his back like a lute and his face like Thersites'; his eyes broad and tawny; his hair harsh and curled like a horse-mane; his lips of the largest size in Folio; . . . his nose . . . beaked like an eagle. Nature into his great head put little wit; . . . he was never no good arithmetician, and yet he was a proper scholar, and well seen in ditties." Subsequent allusions go far to prove that this was Dekker, the Thersites of *Troilus and Cressida*, the Deformed of *Much Ado about Nothing*, the great head and little wit of *Wily Beguiled*, the exquisite song-writer, the satirist of Greene, in his *Old Fortunatus* (q.v.), originally produced for the Admiral's men c. 1589. I formerly agreed with Mr. Simpson in identifying Mullidor and Doron, but had not at that time obtained evidence of Dekker's pre-Shakespearian career (see Dekker). But, whichever view be right, in the next work, *The Mourning Garment*, S. R. 2nd November 1590, the Dedication of which contains a reference to the Jonah story, which forms the foundation of *The Looking Glass*, Philador, like Francesco and Roberto, is a reflex of Greene's own personality. Then appeared *Fair*

Em (*q.v.*), in which, among other things, Mandeville's (*i.e.*, Greene's) purposed return to his first love is declared to be rejected by her. Greene, in his *Farewell to Folly*, accuses the author of "abusing of Scripture," of distilling his writing out of Ballads (see S. R. 1581, Mar. 2), of borrowing of Theological poets, of making himself "the father of interludes," evidently the Roscius who penned the moral of *Man's Wit*, &c.; *i.e.*, R. Wilson.

Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* was published 20th Sept. 1592, edited by Chettle. Greene died Sept. 4. As I have already noticed the autobiographical story of Roberto, it only remains to explain the often-quoted address to his "quondam acquaintance" who make plays. He first addresses the atheist Machiavellian (*cf. Jew of Malta*) gracer of tragedians (which word here, as always in Greene, means tragic actors, not writers), who is, of course, Marlow. The broacher of this atheism, whose disciple Greene was by him persuaded to be, and who died like Julian, was doubtless Francis Kett, M.A., burnt at Norwich (Greene's native place) Feb. 1589 for his detestable opinions against Christ. Mr. Simpson's suggestion that Machiavelli is meant is very unlucky. Malone was, as usual, much too thoughtful to be easily misled in such a matter. Note especially the words "the betrayer of him that gave his life for him," and "is dead" surely recently. Next he addresses "Young Juvenal, that biting satirist, that lastly with me together writ a comedy;" certainly Lodge, who with Greene wrote the satirical play *The Looking Glass for London*, and some of whose Satires, collected as *A Fig for Momus*, 2nd April 1595, were probably circulated in 1592. An hypothesis that Nash was meant has been often advocated on singularly weak grounds, *viz.*: 1. Lodge was out of England. But this argument is quite valueless; he could be as well written

to, in print, out of England as in it. 2. Greene calls him "sweet boy," Lodge being older than Greene "by about two years," says Mr. Simpson in his usual haphazard way. In fact, neither the age of Greene nor that of Lodge are known, and all probabilities point to Greene being a little the elder.

3. Young Juvenal was not a professed play-writer, nor was Lodge. He carefully kept his play-writing, "whence shame cloth grow," as secret as he could, and only two plays (one being that written with Greene) passed the press under his name. But Nash's only play, written before Greene's death, was being acted at Court, not in public, at the very time Greene was writing this tractate; and there is no trace of any "sharp and bitter lines" by him (for "lines" implies verse), and Nash's bitterness is all prose. The third author, "in some things rarer, in nothing inferior," is admitted by every one to be Peele. Then Greene turns against players, "puppets that speak from our mouths; antics garnisht in our colors:" one crow especially "beautified with our feathers," with "his Tiger's heart wrapt in a player's hide" (cf. 3 *Henry* 6, i. 4), is not content with his proper calling, but aspires to play-writing, and supposes he "can bombast out a blank verse:" a *Johannes Factotum* "in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country" (i.e., county). He might "insert against these buckram gentlemen" two more (i.e., Kyd and Wilson) "that both have writ. As for new-comers, he troubles not." Now, a glance at the table p. 95 of my *History of the Stage* shows that Lord Strange's men, between 19th February and 22nd June, acted plays by Marlow (*The Jew of Malta*), Lodge (*The Looking Glass*), Peele (*Mullimorco*), Kyd (*Jeronymo*), Wilson (probably *The Knack to Know a Knave*), and Greene (*Bacon and Orlando*). Moreover, the great success of the season had been 1 *Henry* 6, written by several of these men, but produced as a new play with the

addition of Shakespeare's Talbot scenes. Can there be any doubt as to the company he aims at? Only, I think, in the minds of the followers of Mr. J. O. H. Phillips, who makes Shakespeare travel at this time with Pembroke's company.

For all that is known of the end of Greene at the shoemaker's near Dowgate; his hostess, Mrs. Isom; his keeping of Cutting Ball's sister, and of her son, Fortunatus Greene, who died Aug. 1593, see Dyce's *Account of R. Green*. For his quarrel with Harvey see Nash; where also his share in the anti-Martinist controversy will find a fitter place. But before noticing his plays I must note that Nash, in his *Apology for Piers Penniless*, says that "Greene was the chief agent of the company [the Queen's company of course, the only one that could be called "the company"], for he wrote more than four others."

1. The comical history of *Alphonsus King of Arragon* was acted soon after *Tamberlane*, to which there is an allusion in iv. 3, probably by the Queen's men, as it is mentioned as "*Mahomet's pow*" by Peele in his *Farewell*, April 1589, with other plays. A second part, "when I come to finish up his life," was intended, but not produced, probably in consequence of the first not being successful. That it was one of Greene's earliest plays is evident. In the Presentation Venus says (or rather Greene says):—

"And this my hand, which used for to pen
The praise of love and Cupid's peerless power,
Will now begin to treat of bloody Mars;"

and with still clearer allusion to his previous prose tales:—

"I that was wont to treat of Cupid's games
Will put in ure Minerva's sacred art."

There is no motto to this play. As Venus is "let down from the top of the stage," it may be the play satirised for

its "descending throne" in the Prologue of Jonson's *Every Man in his Humor* (which Gifford could not explain), especially as it was published in 1599. T. Creede, the publisher, seems to have published Queen's plays only.

2. The History of *Orlando Furioso*, one of the twelve peers of France, was published in a much abridged version as it was played before the Queen. In *The Defence of Coney Catching*, S. R. 21st April 1592, Greene is accused of selling it to the Queen's players, to whom it no doubt properly appertained, for twenty nobles (£6, 13s. 4d), and when they were in the country to the Admiral's for as much more. This must mean, I think, on the Queen's men's breaking in Dec. 1591. But the MS. at Dulwich, containing the full version of Orlando's part (as acted by Alleyn), belongs to the time when he revived the play for L. Strange's men, 21st Feb. 1592, when he was their manager; there is no trace of it for the Admiral's men, who were subsequently under him, and L. Strange's men no doubt got it from the Queen's, like so many other plays. There is an allusion to the repulse of the Armada in Sc. 1, where Brandimart rebates the Spanish fleets who come to subdue the islands; the date of production is therefore c. 1588-9. The line, sc. 1—

"I am no king, yet am I princely born,"

is harped on in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*. Curiously, the phrase, "Ave to Cæsar," which Greene satirises when used by Marlow in *Edward 3*, occurs in Sc. 3, both plays dating in the same year. Compare Peele, *Old Wives' Tale*, for further allusions to this play, especially the four lines quoted by Eumenides Sc. 11, the "three blue beans in a blue bladder" Sc. 8, and the name Sacripant. Compare *Orlando*, Sc. 1 and Sc. 5 (Alleyn MS.).

3. *George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield*, has been ascribed to Greene because a copy exists with MS. inscriptions: "Ed. Juby saith it was made by Ro. Greene," and, in a different hand, "Written by . . . a minister, who acted the pinner's part in it himself. Teste W. Shakespeare." But there are two hands in the play. In Sc. 13 "all the merry shoemakers" dwell at "the town of merry Bradford." Sc. 11 is a replica of Sc. 13 at "the town of merry Wakefield." Again, just before the Jenkin bit in Sc. 13 the King will send for George; at the end of it he will go to him. Sc. 13 (except this inserted bit), 3, 5, 9, I assign to Greene. This part of the play is independent of and has different characters from the rest, except at the *dénouement*. The other part is, I think, Peele's. The version we have is greatly abridged (for country performance, I suppose), as Sussex' men acted it. They played it at the Rose as an old play at Christmas 1593. But they probably got it from the Queen's; there is no trace of Greene's writing for Sussex' men. It is, like Peele's *Old Wives' Tale* (a Queen's play), called "a pleasant conceited comedy." Will Perkins, Sc. 13, and I think John Taylor, Sc. 1, are names of actors. The date of original production is probably c. 1588-9 (see the reference to *Tamberlane*, Sc. 1; see also *Wily Beguiled*).

4. The History of *Job*, the MS. of which was destroyed by Warburton's servant, is not otherwise known. It does not appear in S. R. 1594, although Mr. Halliwell retains the statement that it does (as usual with him) without verification.

5. The Honorable History of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* was played by Her Majesty's servants. The motto, *Omne . . . dulci* implies a date before 29th August 1589, when Greene shortened his motto in *Menaphon*. In Sc. 1 St. James' Day comes on a Friday. This happened in 1578,

1589, 1595. I assign this play to 1589, c. March. It is a rival to *Faustus* of 1588, and was in turn parodied in *Fair Em*; compare the title *The Fair Maid of Fressingfield*, implied all through the play, with *Fair Em, the Miller's daughter of Manchester*. This latter repeats the plots of *Bacon* and of *Tully's love* so far as the wooing for a friend is concerned, and again of *Bacon* in the three suitors for the Fair Maid; but offended Greene by the rejection of Manville (*i.e.*, Greene himself) after his inconstancy, which contrasts with the acceptance of Lacy. I have already pointed out that this was personal to Greene. *Bacon* was revived with other Queen's plays by L. Strange's men 19th Feb. 1592; was retained by Henslow, and acted at the Rose 1st April 1594 by the Queen's and Sussex' men, and by the Admiral's men at Court, with Prologue and Epilogue by Middleton, Christmas 1602. But from the ending in the 1594 edition, I judge that it had been acted at Court at an earlier date.

6. *The reign of King John* (see under Lodge).

7. 1, 2 *Henry 6* (see my *Life of Shakespeare*).

8. The Scottish History of *James 4*, slain at Flodden, intermixt with a pleasant comedy presented by Oboram (Oberon) King of Fairies, has the motto *Omne tulit punctum*, which Greene used from Aug. 1589 to c. Oct. 1590. The character Ateukin is called Gnatho in ii. 2*a*; iii. 1, 2 (part); iv. 1. This shows a second hand, which is confirmed by the satirical character of v. 4, a scene entirely independent of the rest of the play, and evidently by the principal author of *The Looking Glass*. In i. 1*b* Gnatho has been altered into Ateukin, but a dissyllable is required by the metre throughout the scene. In v. 2 we find "to them Ateukin and Gnatho," which is quite incompatible with unity of authorship. I assign the scenes named to Lodge. The

date is, I think, 1590; the company probably the Queen's. The parasites and lust of the King are said to be "much like our Court of Scotland this day;" but the Doll Queen and the King's love for Ida remind us of the ever-recurring story of Greene's wife Doll and the Infida connexion, of which he, like James, repented. Greene's plays, as well as his prose, reiterate this repentance (see *Bacon*). Note that all the plays for which Greene took sole responsibility, whether written entirely by him or not, are called "histories." The Induction of this play, some of the characters in which slip into the story presented by Bohan, is parodied in Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*.

9. *A Looking-glass for London* (see Lodge).

10. *Selimus* (see Anon. 240).

GREVILLE, FULKE. See p. 250.

GUNNEL, ———. (Plays.)

In Herbert's Office-Book two plays by this author were licensed for the Palsgrave's men at the Fortune:—

1. 1623, Dec. 4. *The Hungarian Lion*.

2. 1624, April 17. *The Way to content all Women,*
or *How a Man may please his Wife*.

GWINNE, MATTHEW. (Latin.)

1. *Nero*, T., 1603, 1639.

2. *Vertumnus*, C., 1607.

Scholar of St. John's, Oxford, 1574; B.A. 14th May 1578; Fellow; as master-regent, July 1582, he read the music lecture; physician; junior proctor 1588; Doctor of Physic 17th July 1593; went with Sir Henry Unton ambassador to the French Court 1595; Professor of Physic, Gresham College, March 1596; admitted candidate of the College of Physicians 25th June 1604; physician of the Tower 1605; Fellow of the College at Physicians 22nd Dec. 1605; relinquished his professorship Sept. 1607;

married. Died in Old Fish Street 1627 (Wood); was alive in 1639 (Dr. Ward).

1. *Nero, tragædia nova, Matthæo Gwinne, Med. Doct., Collegii Divi Joannis præcursoris apud Oxonienses socio; collecta a Tacito, Suetonio, Dione, Seneca. Londini; impensis Ed. Blounte, 1603, 1639.*

2. *Vertumnus, sive Annus recurrens Oxonii xxix Augusti anno 1605. Coram Jacobo rege, Henrico principe, proceribus. A Joannensibus in scena recitatus, ab uno scriptus, Phrasi Comica prope Tragicis senariis. Londini 1607; acted in Christ Church Hall before the sleepy King, who was over-wearied at St. Mary's (Nichols, James, i. 552).*

3. A dialogue of three Sibyls or Nymphs (personated by youths of St. John's), one for Scotland, one for England, and one for Ireland, was presented to the King, 1605 Aug., on his entering Oxford, in Latin, and then to the rest of the Royal Family in English. The verses allude to the identification of James and Banquo by the weird sisters as a recognised thing, and must, in my judgment, have been later than the earliest version of *Macbeth*, i.e., than 1601 (see my *Life of Shakespeare* under *Macbeth*, and for Gwinne's verses *Nichols*, i. 545).

HABINGTON, WILLIAM. (Play.)

1. 1640, April 2. *The Queen of Arragon*, T. C., 1640.

Son of Thomas Habington of Hendlip, Worcestershire; born there 4th or 5th Nov. 1605; educated at St. Omers and Paris; married Lucia, daughter of William Lord Powis. Died 30th Nov. 1654.

1. *Cleodora, the Queen of Arragon*, was acted at Court 9th April 1640, through the influence and at the expense of Philip Earl of Pembroke, then Chamberlain of the Household; also at Blackfriars by the King's men. It was

published without the author's consent. In the Court performance the clothes and scenes were very rich and curious. Pembroke's own servants acted it at Whitehall before the King and Queen. Pembroke must have entered this play for publication while it was being prepared for Court presentation, and the public staging at Blackfriars was probably later still.

Habington's *poems* to Castara (his wife) were published 1634, and his *Observations on History* 1641.

HACKET, JOHN. (Latin.)

1. *Loyola*, C., 1648.

Born in London 1st Sept. 1592; educated at Westminster School; entered at Trinity, Cambridge, 1608; Fellow, tutor; ordained 1618; chaplain to Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 1621; chaplain to James I. and prebend of Lincoln 1623; rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and Cheam, Surrey, 1624. In 1625 was named by the King to attend the Ambassador to Germany, but did not go, his life being thought in danger on account of his treatment of the Jesuits in his play. His subsequent career does not concern us. He died 11th Oct. 1670.

1. *Loiola* was acted before the King 19th Mar. 1622 (the Prologue date, the 12th, is wrong; the play was put off), and previously before the University, 28th Feb. It was to have been acted on Ash-Wednesday, 26th Feb., but the King having sent word that the Ambassadors from Spain and Brussels meant to attend, it was put off on account of the subject, which would have been offensive to them. The scene is Amsterdam; the time of action one day, "*a vespera ad vesperam*."

HALLIWELL, EDWARD. (Latin.)

1. *Dido*, by a Fellow of King's, Cambridge, was acted before Queen Elizabeth in 1564. Hatcher, MSS. collections

in the Bodleian, says that the author was this Halliwell, admitted Fellow 1532. John Rightwise (admitted Fellow 1507) is too early in date, but doubtless he also wrote a play on this subject.

HARDING, SAMUEL. (Play.)

1. *Sicily and Naples, or The Fatal Union*, T., 1640.

Son of Robert Harding of Ipswich; born 1618; sojourner of Exeter College, Oxford, 1634; B.A. 1638; chaplain to a nobleman. Died in the Civil War.

1. This play was published by Philip Papillon, the author's fellow-collegian, with commendatory verses. Harding also wrote an unpublished poem in praise of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*.

HATHWAY, RICHARD. (Plays).

Only known from Henslow's *Diary*. Wrote for the Admiral's men at the Rose.

1. 1598, April 11-12. *The life and death of Arthur*, King of England.

2. 1598, July 19. *Valentine and Orson* (with Monday).

3, 4. 1599, Oct. 16. 1. 2. *Sir John Oldcastle* (with Drayton, Monday, Wilson; see Drayton).

5. 1600, Jan. 10. *Owen Tudor* (with Drayton, Monday, Wilson).

6. 1600, June 3, 14. 1. *Fair Constance of Rome* (with Drayton, Monday, Wilson).

7. 1600, June 20. 2. *Fair Constance of Rome* (with Chettle, Day).

8. 1601, Jan. 3, 11, 12. *Hannibal and Scipio* (with Rankens).

9. 1601, Jan. 23, 26; Feb. 5, 8, 25; Mar. 6. Play wherein is *Scogan and Skelton* (with Rankens).

10. 1601, Mar. 24; April 4, 11, 16 [20]. *The Conquest of Spain by John a Gaunt* (with Rankens).

11. 1601, Oct. 12, 22. 1 *Six clothiers* (with Haughton, Smith).

12. 1601, Nov. 3. 2 *Six clothiers* (with Haughton, Smith).

13. 1601, Nov. 14; 1602, Jan. 17. *Too good to be true*, or *The Northern man* (with Chettle, Smith).

14. 1602, Nov. 8, 17. *As merry as may be* (with Day, Smith).

15. 1603, Mar. 1, 7, 12. *The Bosse of Billingsgate* (with Day).

He also wrote for Worcester's men at the Rose.

16. 1602, Nov. 24, 26; Dec. 20. 1 *Black Dog of Newgate* (with Day, Smith, &c.).

17. 1603, Jan. 7, 10, 16, 19. *The Unfortunate General*, a French History (with Day, Smith, &c.), called wrongly *The Fortunate General* by Halliwell and *Biog. Dram.*

18. 1603, Jan. 29; Feb. 3. 2 *Black Dog of Newgate* (with Day, Smith, &c.).

1603, Feb. 21, 24, 26. Additions to the same were paid for to "the four poets," so that "&c." stands for one poet only; perhaps Webster, but still more probably Chettle.

HAUGHTON, HARTON, HAULTON, or HAWTON, WILLIAM.
(Plays.)

3. 1600, Mar. 28, for Cuthbert Burby. *Patient Grissell*.

1. 1601, Aug. 3, for William White. *A Woman will have her Will*, 1616, 1626, 1631.

6. *Lust's Dominion*, 1657.

9. *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, 1662.

1. 1597, Nov. 5; 1598, Feb. 18, May. *A Woman will have her Will*. Published 1601; but the earliest extant edition had been revised, for in i. 2 "the King's

English" is mentioned; it then, in 1616, bore as its first title *Englishmen for my money*, which was dropped again in the 1631 edition.

2. 1599, Aug. 20, 25. *The Poor Man's Paradise*.

3. 1599, Oct. [16]; Dec. 19, 26, 28, 29. *Patient Grissell* (with Chettle, Dekker). The entry of Dec. 26 is a receipt from Shaw for the total £6 to pay for this play in full, and probably includes the other payments. Henslow certainly did not pay ten guineas for any play at the Rose. On 18th March 1600 Henslow paid £2 to stay the printing of the play, which had been performed at the end of January, and entered S. R. on 8th March. It was published in 1603, not by Cuthbert Burby, but by Henry Rocket. Dekker, I think, mainly wrote the scenes in which Laureo and Babulo (the characters not found in the old story) enter, and Chettle the Welsh scenes; Haughton the remainder, besides helping Dekker in his part. It is curious that v. 1 was evidently written in 1599, while in i. 1 the year is called "leap year," i.e., 1600. The duel in iii. 2 between Emulo and Sir Owen is certainly the same as that between Brisk and Luculento in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humor*, iv. 4. See more on this point under Daniel. In i. 1 is an allusion to *Love's Metamorphosis*, which was revived at Blackfriars by the Chapel boys in 1599. In ii. 1 we find *David and Bethsabe* glanced at. In v. 1 the allusions to "pigmies" seem to me to refer indirectly to the Chapel children, whose patent was granted July 1597. The play is one of the numerous shrew-plays of the time. The "terrible words" of Emulo, "complement, projects, fastidious, capricious, misprision, sinthesis of the soul," ii. 1, are important in the same way as the Marston words ridiculed by Jonson in *The Poetaster*. Jonson puts these same Emulo words into the mouth of Fastidious Brisk, i.e., Daniel. Sir

Owen, the Welsh Knight, seems to be Lord Berkley, and Gwenthyan Lady Elizabeth Carey (Delia). See further under Jonson and Daniel.

4. 1599, Nov. 1, 14. *John Cox of Collinster* (Columpton) was written (with Day).

5. 1599, Nov. 21, 27; Dec. 5, 6. *The tragedy of Merry, or Beech's Tragedy* (with Day). Compare Yarrington.

6. 1600, Feb. 13. *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (with Day, Dekker). No doubt the same play as *Lust's Dominion*, or *The Lascivious Queen*, published 1657 as Marlow's. In this play I think Haughton wrote the scenes in which Crab and Cole enter, Day that with Oberon and those with Emanuel, and Dekker the rest. The scenes are absurdly arranged in the editions. I give here, however, my division according to them: Dekker, i. 1–ii. 1; v; Haughton, ii. 2–5; iii. 5, 6; Day, iii. 1–4; iv. But although the play as it stands dates in 1600, it was certainly founded on an older one. There is throughout an undercurrent of pre-Shakespearian work, and in ii. 6 an alternative reading (a sure mark of alteration) left by accident:—

“He gone, thou’rt next;
Be sound in resolution, and farewell!
By one and one I’ll slip you all to hell,”

was meant to be erased in favour of:—

“Spain, I will drown thee with thine own proud blood;
Then make an ark of carcases: farewell!
Revenge and I will sail in blood to hell;”

and again in iii. 2 “a bloody horrid tragedy” contains two alternative epithets; “bloody” was intended to make way for “horrid.” There is no reason why the original play should not have been written by Marlow for the Admiral’s

men c. 1588, or rather perhaps by Marlow and Dekker. There are continual echoes of *Doctor Faustus* and *Tambraine* throughout. The "Old Cole, now look about" in *Look about you*, Sc. 28, 1600, alludes to this play, Faconbridge having apparently been played by the same actor as Cole in the present play. This shows that it was written before the publication of *Look about you*.

7. 1600, Mar. 1, 2, 8. *The Seven Wise Masters* (with Chettle, Day, Dekker).

8. 1600, Mar. 18. *Ferrex and Porrex*.

9. 1600, Mar. [May] 6. *The Devil and his Dame* [sic; not Dam]. Published in 1662 as *Grim, the Collier of Croydon*. See the last lines, v. 1, before the final Induction:—

"If we deserve to name
This play of ours *The Devil and his Dame*."

In v. 1 Drayton's *Merry Devil* is alluded to. I think Drayton is caricatured as Robin Goodfellow. He wears a "suit of leather," no doubt "to go invisible." Belphegor as the doctor, I think, is Lodge.

9*. 1600, April 16, 24. *The English Fugitives*.

10. 1600, May 17. *Strange News out of Poland* (with Pett. But Pett is not heard of elsewhere. Should it not be Chett, *i.e.*, Chettle? The only Pett I know of as a writer is Peter Pett, who published *Time's journey to seek his daughter Truth*, in verse, 1599). A "shrew" play.

11. 1600, May 27. *Indies*. See below.

All these were written for the Admiral's men at the Rose. When they acted at the Fortune, Haughton wrote:—

12. 1600, Dec. 20, 27; 1601, Jan. 4, 13. *Robin Hood's Pen'orths*.

13. 1601, Jan. 29, Feb. 10, Mar. 10. 2 *Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (with the end of Thomas Stroud), or 2 *Thomas Stroud* (with Day).

14. 1601, April 4, 11; May 2, 21; Aug. 5, 11, 26; Sept. 1. *The Conquest of the West Indies* (with Day, Smith). See 1600, May 27.

15. 1601, May 20; June 4, 6, 8. *The Six Yeomen of the West* (with Day), founded on Deloney's *Thomas of Reading*.

16. 1601, May 21; July 18, 25, 30. 3 *Thomas Stroud* (with Day).

17. 1601, July 4, 14; Sept. 31 [Oct. 1]; Nov. 9, 29. *The Proud Woman of Antwerp*. *The Friar Rush*, by Day, in the July entries was probably a separate play. Compare "his book," i.e., Haughton's, in the later entries.

18. 1601, July 30; Sept. 3, 11. 2 *Thomas Dough* [Qy. 2 *The Six Yeomen of the West*], (with Day).

19. 1601, Oct. 12, 22. 1 *The Six Clothiers* (with Hathway, Smith).

20. 1601, Nov. 8. 2 *Six Clothiers* (with Hathway, Smith). Evidently not the same story as *The Six Yeomen of the West*, as usually asserted.

The only other note worth mentioning on Haughton is that Henslow, on 10th Mar. 1600, lent 10s. "to release him out of the Clink." But see Day.

21. 1602, Sept. 8. *Cartwright*.

22. 1602, Nov. 8, 17. *As merry as may be* (with Day, Hathway, Smith).

HAUSTED, PETER. (University, English and Latin.)

1. 1632, June 13, for Humfrey Robinson. *The Rival Friends*, C., 1632.

2. *Senile Odium*, C., 1633.

Born at Oundle, Northamptonshire; M.A. of Queen's, Cambridge; curate of Uppingham; rector of Hadlam, Hertfordshire; vicar of Gretton, Northamptonshire, before 13th Mar. 1639; D.D. 1641; chaplain to the Earl of North-

ampton; with him at Banbury, Oxfordshire, during its defence against the Parliament; died there, 1645.

1. 1632, Mar. 19. *The Rival Friends* was acted before the King and Queen [by the scholars of Queen's College], Cambridge. It was "cried down by Boys, Faction, Envy, and confident Ignorance; approved by the judicious, and now exposed to the public censure by the author." It is dedicated, in verse, "To the Right Honourable, Right Reverend, Right Worshipful, or whatsoever he be, or shall be, whom I hereafter may call patron." It has a queer mythological Induction. The "boys crying it down" is alluded to in Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, Act iv., performed at the same royal visit. I think Hausted is one of the poets in Randolph's play.

2. *Senile Odium* was performed by the Queen's College scholars.

HAWKESWORTH, ——. (Latin.)

1. *Labyrinthus*, C., 1636. Acted before King James, Shrovetide 1622, at Trinity, Cambridge. Hawkesworth was a Fellow of that college. S. R. 17th July 1635, for Master Robinson. The author's name is from MS. Cantab. Ee. V. 16. Other MSS. are extant.

HAWKINS, WILLIAM. (Private play.)

1. 1627, April 8, for Robert Milborne. *Apollo Shroving*, composed for the scholars of the Free School of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, and acted by them on Shrove Tuesday, being 6th Feb. 1626[-7].

Hawkins also published *Eglogæ Tres Virgilianæ*, 1633; and *Corolla Varia*, 1634.

HEMING, WILLIAM. (Plays.)

2. *The Fatal Contract*, a French tragedy, 1653.

3. *The Jews' Tragedy*, or their fatal and final overthrow by Vespasian and Titus, his son, 1662.

Son of John Heming, the actor; born in Aldermanbury; baptized 3d Oct. 1602; student of Christ Church, Oxford, 1621; M.A. 1628; proved his father's will as executor 11th Oct. 1630.

1. 1633, March. *The Coursing of the Hare, or The Madcap*, was (according to Collier, *Actors*, p. 72) licensed for the Fortune Theatre (cf. Chalmers' *Apology*)

2. *The Fatal Contract* was revived after the Restoration as *Love and Revenge*, and again in 1687 as *The Eunuch*. The allusions, iv. 3, to the Laureateship indicate a date c. 1637. Note also "What house do you write for? Poet and actor both."

3. The printing of *The Jews' Tragedy* was posthumous, 1662.

HEYLIN, PETER. (Latin.)

Born 29th Nov. 1599 at Barford, Oxfordshire; educated at the Free School; entered at Hart Hall, *ætatis* 14; demy of Magdalen, *ætatis* 16; B.A. Oct. 1617; Fellow 1618; ordained 1623; was rapidly promoted till the Civil War; in poverty under the Commonwealth. Died 8th May 1662.

1. *Spurius*, T., was written at Hart Hall, and acted in the rooms of Dr. Langton, the president, c. 1615.

2. *Theomachia*, C., was acted at Magdalen 1618.

HEYWOOD, THOMAS. (Actor and writer of Plays and Pageants.)

13, 14. 1599, Aug. 28, for J. Oxonbridge and J. Busby. 1, 2 *Edward 4, with the Tanner of Tamworth and the history of Shore and his Wife*, H., 1600, 1605, 1613, 1619, 1626.

17. *How a man may choose a good wife from a bad*, C., 1602, for M. Law; 1605, 1608, 1614, 1621, 1630, 1634.

15, 19. 1604, Dec. 4, for N. Butter. *The life and death of Cavaliero Dick Bowyer* [*The Trial of Chivalry*], H., 1605.

29. 1605, July 5, for N. Butter. [1] *If you know me not you know nobody*, H., 1606.

29. 1605, Sept. 14, for N. Butter. 2 *If you know me not, &c., with the Building of the Exchange* [which belongs to Part i.], H., 1609, 1633, 1639.

18, 31. 1606, Mar. 12, for J. Trundle. *Nobody and Somebody*, n.d.

27. *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, C., 1607, by W. Jaggard; 1607, sold by J. Hodgetts; the first publication with Heywood's name as author; 1617, third edition.

30. 1608, June 3, for J. Busby and N. Butter. *The Rape of Lucrece*, H., 1608 (for I. B[usby]); 1609; n.d., "with sundry songs before omitted now inserted;" 1630 (fourth edition); 1638 (fifth impression; for N. Butter).

2. 1611, Oct. 14, for W. Barrenger. *The Golden Age, with the loves of Jupiter and Saturn*, 1611.

3. *The Silver Age, Prodesse solent aut delectare*, 1613. Printed by N. Okes; sold by B. Lightfoot.

4. *The Brazen Age*, 1613, by N. Okes for S. Rand.

1. *The Four Prentices of London*, 1615, for J. W[right]; 1632.

25, 26. 1630, Feb. 26, for J. Grove. *Hoffmann, the Revengeful Father*, T., 1631 (by J. N. for Hugh Perry).

33, 34. 1631, June 16, for R. Royston. 1, 2 *Fair Maid of the West*, 1631.

5, 6. 1, 2 *The Iron Age*, by N. O[kes], 1632.

24, 36. 1633, July 15, for N. Okes. *The English Traveller*, C., 1633, by R. Raworth.

11, 38. 1634, June 25, for N. Okes. *A Maidenhead*

well lost, C., 1634, by N. Okes for J. Jackson and J. Church.

41. 1634, Oct. 28, for B. Fisher. *The Witches of Lancashire*, C., 1634.

7, 8, 9. 1635, Aug. 29, for R. Hearne. *Dialogues and Dramas* (including *Prologues*), 1637.

39. 1635, Sept. 30, for J. Crouch. *The Queen's Mask*, or *Love's Mistress*, "by Master Haywood," 1636, 1640 ('twice,' with variations).

44. 1636, June 17, for R. Raworth. *A Challenge for Beauty*, C., 1636.

20, 40. 1637, Mar. 25, for J. Beckett. *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject*, C., 1637.

28. 1638, Mar. 12, for H. Shepard. *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, C., 1638.

32. *Fortune by Land and Sea*, C., 1655, for J. Smeeting and R. Pollard.

10. *The Thracian Wonder*, C., 1661, for F. Kirkman.

35. *The Captives*, C., MS.

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45. 1631. *London's Jus Honorarium*, 1631, by N. Okes.

46. 1632. *Londini Artium et Scientiarum Scaturigo*, 1632.

47. 1633. *Londini Emporia*, 1633, by N. Okes.

48. 1635. *Londoni Sinus Salutis*, 1635, by R. Raworth.

49. 1637. *Londini Speculum*, 1637, by J. Okes.

50. 1638. *Porta Pietatis*, 1638, by J. Okes.

51. 1639. *Londini Status Pacatus*, 1639, by J. Okes.

NON-DRAMATIC WORKS.

Sallust, translated 1608 for J. Jaggard.

1608, Dec. 5, for W. Jaggard. *Troia Britannica*, or

Britain's Troy, in 17 cantos, with a Chronicle from the Creation till these present times, 1609. Printed very negligently (*Apology for Actors*).

An Apology for Actors, Et prodesse solent aut delectare, 1612, for N. Okes. This contains Heywood's complaint of the negligent printing of the *Troia B.*, and also of W. Jaggard's having in 1612 (not in 1599; as W. C. Hazlitt says) incorporated his *Love Epistles* into *The Passionate Pilgrim* in that year. Reissued as *The Actor's Vindication*, n.d., by G. E. for W. C. [c. 1633, Oct. See *The English Traveller*]; 1658.

1612, Dec. 23, for W. Welby. *Funeral Elegies on Prince Henry*, 1613 (with Tournear and Webster).

1613, Feb. 15, for J. Trundle. *Epithalamion on L. Elizabeth's marriage*, 1613, for E. Marchant.

1614, Jan. 3, for T. Purfoot, junior. *The Life and Death of Hector*, 1614, a modernisation of *The Destruction of Troy* into sextains out of heroics (30,000 lines), is attributed to Heywood, but "cited by Fuller, Winstanley, and others as Lydgate's" (Lowndes).

Gynaikeion: 9 books of the *History of Women*, 1624, by A. Islip. 239 Leaves. *Aut prodesse*, &c.

1625, April 4, for R. Redmer. *Elegy on James I*, 1625, for T. Harper.

1631, April 26, for P. Waterhouse. *England's Elizabeth during her minority*, 1632.

1635, May 26, for J. Crouch. *Philocothonista*, or *The Drunkard anatomised*, 1635, by R. Raworth.

The Hierarchy of the blessed Angels, 1635, by A. Islip.

1636, Jan. 11, for M. Walbank. Verses (with 30 others) to Dover's *Annalia Dubrensis*.

1636, April 8, for J. Okes. *The 3 wonders of this age*, J. Hudson, W. Evans, and T. Parr, "by Master Haywood."

[*The discourse of R. Farnham and J. Bull*, by T. H., 1636,

for T. Lambert, I do not think to be Heywood's. His publications at this time are signed in full and entered S. R. with his name (cf. S. R. entries for J. Okes 1636, June 7, and for F. Smith 1636, June 17). Was this by Sir T. Hawkins, a translator of this period? (see S. R. 1635, Sept. 12.)

1636, Nov. 18, for J. Okes. *Mistakes, Clinches, Tales, &c.*, "by Master Haywood," the same form of entry as for *The 3 wonders, &c.*, *supra*, and for the unquestioned *Queen's Mask*.

1637, Jan. 25, for J. Okes. *The Phoenix of this time*, Henry Welby, 1637 (two editions).

1637, Sept. 15, for J. Okes and J. Aston. *His Majesty's royal Ship built 1637 at Woolwich*, 1637, by J. Okes for J. Aston. Reprinted with additions (not Heywood's) 1653.

1639, Sept. 19, for R. Roiston. *Lives and acts of nine the most worthy women, &c.*, 1640, "by Master Thomas Heywood."

. Verses prefixed to James Yorke's *Union of Honor* (with arms of Lincolnshire Gentry), 1641, by E. Griffin.

"Reader, here you'll plainly see Judgment presented by these three, *A priest, a judge, a patentee*." (i.e., Archbishop Laud, Lord Finch, Alderman Abel); 1641: (see also W. C. Hazlitt, *Dict.*, under *Projectors*.)

The Life of Merlin (with annals), 1641, by N. Okes for J. Emery.

[*A preparative to Study*, or *The Virtue of Sack*, 1641, is, I think, not Heywood's.]

The General History of Women, "by T. H., gent.," 1657, by W. H. for W. H., a posthumous publication, and therefore we must not necessarily expect the name in full.

The lives of all the Poets, mentioned as intended in Braith-

waite's *Scholar's Medley*, 1614, as in progress in *Gynakeion*, 1624, and again in *The Hierarchy*, &c., 1635, is not extant.

Thomas Heywood, gentleman, was born in Lincolnshire. See his verses to Yorke's *Union of Honor*, 1640, and *Elegy on Sir George St. Poole*, of Lincolnshire, "my countryman," in his *Dialogues and Dramas*, 1635. He resided at Cambridge, and saw "tragedies, comedies, histories, pastorals, and shows publicly acted" by the graduates, of most of which we have no record; but as he was Fellow of Peterhouse (see the Dedication of Cartwright's edition of his *Apology for Actors*), and was in London certainly by 1594, and perhaps earlier, I cannot place his birth-date later than c. 1572. In his Dedication of *The English Traveller*, 1633, he mentions that Sir H. Appleton used to call Edmund Heywood "mine uncle," by the title of father, and acknowledges his obligations to Sir W. Eluish, also of Lincolnshire. From 1594 onwards he was actor and playwright, first for the Admiral's men at the Rose, where, on 25th Mar. 1598, he engaged himself as "a covenant servant," under a forfeiture of £40, to play nowhere else for two years; he is supposed to have left them and joined Derby's men in 1599, but see *infra*. In 1601-2 he went to Worcester's men (afterwards Queen Anne's, and, when she died, the Revels company); when they broke he became a member of the Lady Elizabeth's company (afterwards Queen Henrietta's); and finally, in 1634, of the King's. He appears as an author of non-dramatic works as early as 1608, and the list of these already given shows that from 1635 onwards he could have had little time, if any, for dramatic work. As an actor I cannot trace him later than 1622. In 1634-5 he ceased to write for the stage. According to his own statement, in 1633 *The English Traveller*, "(being one reserved amongst two hundred and twenty, in which I have had either an

entire hand, or at the least a main finger," [*sic*, there is no) to match the first one], came to the press. If my former conjecture be wrong, and I find it generally disapproved, I suggest that these 220 included the plays in which Heywood had acted during nearly thirty years. He had no doubt inserted "gag" in most of them, and recommended alterations in many. This would be enough to justify his "main finger," and would dispose of 180 out of the 220. The remaining 40 are, in my judgment, the utmost we can admit as written by him in our sense, which is what he means, I think, by "an entire hand." He did not, except for Worcester's men 1602-3, write often in conjunction with others, as far as we know. From the exact similarity in many entries S. R. of "Master Haywood" the author and "under the hands of Master Haywood," 1633-1637, I fancy it would be worth while for some one more conversant with such matters to ascertain whether he was one of the master stationers. He died, probably, c. 1641.

1. *The Four Prentices of London, with the Conquest of Jerusalem*, H. Acted before 1615 at the Red Bull by Queen Anne's men. The Address to the Prentices mentions as quite recent the revival of arms practice in the Artillery Gardens. This was in 1610 (Stow, p. 997). The first edition then, c. 1610, is not extant; and Heywood also says the play was written fifteen or sixteen years ago, in his infancy of judgment and first practice. This takes us back to 1594. From that year, July 19, till 1595, Sept. 16, *The second part of Godfrey of Bulloigne* was acted at the Rose by the Admiral's men; and in 1594, June 19, [The first part of] *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, "with the Conquest of Jerusalem," an enterlude, had been entered S. R. for J. Danter. I have no doubt that the July 19 play is the same as *The Four Prentices*. It appears from the Prologue, spoken by

three in black cloaks, that it was also called *True and Strange*. Jerusalem is also mentioned as the Scene; and the last line, "Now Sion and Jerusalem are one," justifies the second title. In *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (acted 1610), iii. 1, "read the play of *The Four Prentices of London*, where they toss their pikes so" (cf. Sc. 6), proves, in spite of Dyce's recalcitration, that the publication was in 1610 at the latest. Tasso's *Jerusalem* was translated by E. Carew in 1594 (see S. R. 1594, Jan 26).

2. *The Golden Age*, or *The lives of Jupiter and Saturn*, "with the deifying of the Heathen gods," was acted [at the Red Bull by Queen Anne's men] before Oct. 1611, and after Oct 1610 (cf. Dekker's *If it be not good the Devil's in't*, i. 1, "The Golden Age is moulding new again," which shows that it was a revived play). I have no doubt that the original form was *Seleo* (Cælo) *et Olympo*, acted at the Rose 1595, Mar. 5. The play is presented by Homer with Dumb Shews; in the last of these "Jupiter draws Heaven," and directly after "To Jupiter doth high Olympus fall." Io is mentioned iv. 2 as "already deflowred." I suppose the *Jupiter and Io* published in the *Dramas* of 1635 had already been written. The motto, *Tam robur, tam robor, in-* [sic] *colis arbor Jovis*, is not Heywood's, but Nicolas (*ni-colis*) Okes' (*arbor Jovis*, oak).

3. *The Silver Age*, "including [1. The fortunes of Perseus, 2], The love of Jupiter to Alemena, [3] The birth of Hercules, [4] The Rape of Proserpine, [5] The Arraignment of the Moon." *Aut prodesse solent aut delectare*. This is, in fact, *Five plays in one*, of which the first, though not in the title, is enumerated in Homer's last speech in *The Golden Age*; but in the Address to the Reader Hercules' birth and life is spoken of as the main subject here, his honour and death as that of *The Brazen Age*. In the last presentment

the two plays together are called "The Acts of Hercules." From the Address it appears that *The Iron Age* also dates earlier than 1613. These two *Hercules* plays are evidently those acted at the Rose 1595, May 7 and May 23. In ii. 4 "errors" is used technically to indicate mistaken identity, as in Shakespeare's 1594 play. In iv. 1, v. 1, Io is again alluded to; and in i. 3 the unusual word "harpe" (sword) occurs, which may be the right word in *The two Harpes*. For the forged entry concerning a supposed performance of this play 1612 Jan., see my *History of the Stage*, p. 178.

4. *The Brazen Age*, "containing 1. The death of the Centaur Nessus; 2. The tragedy of Meleager; 3. The tragedy of Jason and Medea; 4. Vulcan's Net; 5. The labors and death of Hercules." The second title is *The Brazen Age*, "containing the labors and death of Hercules." Compare "Hercules' acts" in Homer's first presentation. In Heywood's Address he complains that one Austin, a pedagogue at Ham (which Ham?), had borrowed of him his translations of Ovid's *Art of Love*, made in "his juniority," and shown them as his own. All this play is founded on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. 1, 2 *Hercules* were bought of Martin Slaughter [who represents the company, I think, as Allen does elsewhere in similar instances] 1598, May 18.

5, 6. 1, 2 *The Iron Age* were published in 1632, with dedications to T. Hammon, of Gray's Inn, and T. Manneriug. The presentation by Homer and the "five plays in one" arrangement are given up; and in the Address we are told that these plays (*i.e.*, the two parts of *The Iron Age*, not the preceding plays) were "publicly acted by two companies upon one stage at once, and at several times thronged three several theatres." In iii. 1, 2 there are thirty actors on the stage together, which at that date would require two companies. The theatres with which Heywood had been con-

nedted were—1. The Rose; 2. The Curtain; 3. The Red Bull; 4. The Cockpit (at which he did not act, but for which he wrote). I think the first three must be the theatres he means. The only time known to me of two companies playing together at these houses is when Pembroke's and the Admiral's men played at the Rose. 1597, Oct. In Henslow's *Diary*, p. 91, the names of some of the plays then acted have dropped out; among these may have been 1, 2 *Iron Age*, the second part being a new play. The first part was probably the same as *Troy*, first acted 1596, June 3. At the close of 2 *Iron Age* we find, "Here ends the whole history of *The destruction of Troy*," which shows that this was a second title for the 1, 2 *Iron Age* taken together. It was founded partly on Lydgate's *Destruction of Troy*, the modernisation of which (printed 1614, but perhaps written much earlier) has been attributed to Heywood (see *supra*). Thersites usually speaks in verse, but some prose bits, notably the Sneak's noise bit in iii. 4, are insertions made after Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* in its complete form, 1609. Note also Thersites' "politician" allusions in i. 2, iv. 2; and again Part 2, i. 3.

As to the second part, which in the added title is specially called *The Destruction of Troy*, the first part being *The Siege of Troy*, I may here note some dates. Heywood's last appearance in Henslow's *Diary* previous to his leaving the Admiral's men (for Derby's?) is 1599, Feb. 12. On April 7 Dekker and Chettle get their first payment for *Troilus and Cressida* (afterwards *Agamemnon*). Is it not probable that Heywood took umbrage at their being appointed to write a play founded on a subject so peculiarly his as far as the Admiral's men were concerned? He left (if he did leave) probably at quarter-day, Mar. 25, when Dekker's play would certainly have been plotted.

In my *History of the Stage*, p. 114, will be found a list of properties, 1598, which can be referred to no extant plays but the three first *Ages*. I have not traced any to *The Iron Age*, but the absence of such does not disprove their existence at that time; it is only here and there that Henslow mentions characters by name in this list.

7. *Five plays in One*, acted at the Rose 1597, April 7, suggests by its title the same authorship as *The Silver and Brazen Ages*, both built on this plan; and this is confirmed by the fact that we have five short plays of Heywood's, just enough to make up an afternoon's performance. These are:—

1. *Deorum judicium*. A Dialogue (the judgment of Paris), 14 pp. in reprint.
2. *Jupiter and Io*. A Drama, 22 pp.
3. *Apollo and Daphne*. A Drama, 15 pp. One character is named Amphrisus.
4. *Pelopæa and Alope*, or *Amphrisa the forsaken Shepherdess*. A Drama, 11 pp.

These four were printed in *Dialogues and Dramas*, S. R. 1635, Aug. 29.

5. Either *Time's Triumph* [*Timon*, see No. 8] or *Cupid and Psyche*, the original form of *Love's Mistress* (which see below), without the clown, &c., about 40 pp.; S. R. 1635, Sept. 30.

This would make about 100 pp. for the five, but the *Cupid* play was no doubt much enlarged. Heywood's early plays are about 80 pp. each. In the 1598 inventory is an Argus' head. Such a property is needed in *Jupiter and Io*, but in no other play I know of. These mythological plays are a specialty of Heywood's. Cupid's bow and quiver is also mentioned, but this may have been for *Dido and Æneas*.

8. On 1597, April 13, *Time's Triumph* was played as an introduction to *Dr. Faustus*, which is very short. This was not marked as a new play, and may have been one of *The Five plays in One*, perhaps *Timon* or *Misanthropos*, translated from Lucian (see under Fletcher, *Four Plays in One*).

9. 1596, c. Oct., Henslow lent the men "30s. for Heywood's book." This shows that, as I have said already, the plays at this time belonged to the company. The "book" must have been some play acted soon after the re-opening in Dec. (*Stage History*, p. 100), possibly the *Five plays in One*, acted 1597, April 7.

10. 1598, Dec. 6; 1599, Jan. 26. *War without blows and Love without suit* ("without strife" in the second entry). This is the same play as *The Thracian Wonder*; cf. in i. 2, "You never shall again renew your suit;" but the love is given at the end without any suit; and in iii. 2, "Here was a happy war finished without blows." It was probably, like many other of Heywood's plays, revived for the Queen's men c. 1607, when W. Rowley and Webster were writing for them; whence the absurd attribution of the authorship to them by Kirkman.

11. 1599, Feb. 10, 12. *Joan as good as my Lady* (see 38).

PLAYS FOR DERBY'S MEN [AT THE CURTAIN].

All these are of very doubtful authorship.

12. *The Bold Beachams*, attributed to Heywood by the author of the surreptitious 2 *Hudibras*, 1663, along with *The Grecian Wars* (i.e., *The Iron Age*, which Gayton calls *The Greeks and Trojans*), was probably acted by the same company as *Guy Earl of Warwick* (q.v.). It is alluded to as on the stage (Query at the Bull) in 1609-10 in *The*

Knight of the Burning Pestle, along with *Jane Shore*, which certainly means the *Edward 4* play.

13. 1 *Edward 4*, "containing 1, his pastime with the Tanner of Tamworth (Sc. 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 21, 23); 2, his love to Mrs. Shore (Sc. 8, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22); 3, the Siege of London (Sc. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15)," which make up the whole play. The Siege is mentioned only in the second title. Assumed to be Heywood's by Collier, Halliwell, *Biog. Dram.*, Gildon, &c., I know not why; unless it be that in Sc. 11 Hobs the tanner says, "Dost thou not know me? Then thou knowest nobody." But this common phrase is as old as Gascoigne, ii. 34, There is no "Clown." Hobs talks in doggrel mixed with prose. This play was published S. R. 1599, Aug. 28. It is founded on the ballads of *Jane Shore* and *The Tanner of Tamworth*, and the Admiral's play of *The Siege of London*, which was an old play of c. 1590, revived 1594, Dec. 26.

14. 2 *Edward 4*, containing 1, his journey into France (Sc. 1-7); 2, a chorus (Sc. 8); and 3, the prosecution of the history of the Shores to their deaths (Sc. 9-23), is evidently of the same date and by the same author. The plotting reminds me strongly of *Robin Hood*. In 1603, May 9, Chettle and Day undertook a play for Worcester's men "wherein Shore's wife is written;" otherwise described as "The book of *Shore*, now newly to be written" (Henslow, *Diary*, pp. 114, 251). The "rewriting" means, I think, the extracting of the Shore part and making one play of it. If this be so, are these *Edward 4* plays Heywood's at all? They are far better than his other early work. I show in my *History of the Stage*, p. 103, that Day sold a play to the Admiral's men in 1598, July, which Chettle refashioned; and he joined them himself 1599, Nov. If *Edward 4* was

produced at the Curtain (and a play acted in the provinces would hardly have been published), it must have been after 1599, Jan.—Mar., when the Chamberlain's men vacated the Curtain and Derby's occupied it. But Heywood was at this very time bound, under a heavy penalty (£40), not to leave the Rose, and there is no other trace of his having broken this bond. No importance can be attached to the absence of his name in Henslow's lists of Admiral's actors; for, singularly enough, his name occurs in no one of them. He was not a sharer; only a hired man. His not writing between 1599, Mar., and 1600, Mar., may have been accidental—through illness, perhaps. It is possible that Chettle and Day began these plays together, with the intention of offering them to Henslow, c. 1598, Christmas; but Derby's men opening at the Curtain c. 1599, Mar., Day sold them to that company. At any rate, the question is doubtful, and should be investigated.

15. *The Trial of Chivalry*, H., with the "life and death of Cavaliero Dick Bowyer," is certainly by two authors, one of whom writes "sentinel," iii. 1, 3; the other "sentronel," ii. 1, 3. These may be the same authors as those of *Edward 4* (see *ANON.* 249).

9

FOR THE ADMIRAL'S MEN AT THE FORTUNE, 1602-3.

16. 1602, Dec. 20; 1603, Jan. 7. *The London Florentine*. But 1602, Dec. 17, 22, the same play is entered as Chettle, "his play."

PLAYS FOR WORCESTER'S MEN, 1601-3; QUEEN ANNE'S,
1603-8.

17. *How a man may choose a good wife from a bad*, C. Published without author's name 1602. Not in S. R.

Ascribed, without reason assigned, to a Joshua Cooke. Founded on Cynthio's *Novels*, iii. 5, and a story, which is also related in *Love in the Grave*, in *The Pleasant Companion*. As this play is not in Henslow's 1602-3 list of Worcester's men's plays, it must date earlier—1601. Certainly it is by the same author as *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon* (W. W.). Compare: "I by the finger wrung," i. 3; "I wrung twice by the finger," W. W., v. 3; "Whip me upon the *quid est grammatica*," ii. 1; "*Quid est grammatica? grammatica est ars*," W. W., iv. 1; "*Quæ maribus*, that loves marrowbones," ii. 1; "*Quæ maribus . . . those marrowbones*," W. W., iv. 1; "*Iste, ista, istud . . . until he fetcht blood*," iii. 1; "*Ille, illa, illud*, until I fetch blood," W. W., iv. 1; the allusions to Gascoigne's "I wail in woe, I plunge in pain," ii. 3, and W. W., v. 3; "*Quomodo vales*, come out of alehouse" (*i.e.*, quom od ov ales), ii. 1; "*Quomodo vales*, go with you to th' alehouse," W. W., ii. 1, &c., &c. Perhaps a refashioning of *A Wonder of a Woman*, the Admiral's play of 1595, Oct. 15. The Thomas lately come from beyond sea, ii. 2, is an equivoque on the character in the play and Thomas Blackwood, the actor, who had returned from abroad 1601. The "one Thomas" below is Heywood himself. Dr. Dee is mentioned ii. 1. This play was not published by Heywood. Performed, I think, at the Curtain.

18. 1602, Sept. 4. *Albert Galles* (with Smith). Query Archigallus. See *infra*, *Nobody and Somebody*.

19. 1602, Sept. 2. Additions to *Cutting Dick*, £1. This play must have been written before Worcester's men joined Henslow.

20. 1602, Sept. 20, 30. *Marshal Osric* (with Smith). See *The Royal King and Loyal Subject*.

21, 22. 1602, Oct. 15, 21. 1 *Lady Jane*, Oct. 27;

2 *Lady Jane* (with Chettle, Dekker, Webster). See *Sir Thomas Wyatt*.

23. 1602, Nov. 2, 23, 26. *Christmas comes but once a year* (with Chettle, Dekker, Webster).

24. 1602, Nov. 24, Dec. 15; 1603, Jan. 7. *The Blind eats many a fly* (see *The English Traveller*).

25. 1603, Jan. 14. A play (with Chettle), *Like quits like*, in the otherwise exactly corresponding entry to the Admiral's men at the same date, was pronounced by Dr. Ingleby to be a forgery. But the play was no doubt *Hoffmann* (see Chettle).

26. *Hoffman*, or *A Revenge for a Father*, was published 1631 by Hugh Perry, who had happened on it, or rather purchased it of F. Grove, who had entered it 1630, Feb. 26, as *The Revengeful Father*. Perry dedicated it to R. Kilvert because it had no "parent to own it." In no instance did Heywood sanction the publication of plays not entirely his. It was acted at the Phoenix, but originally by Worcester's men. Heywood's share is iii. 2, iv. 3, in which Charles and Sarlois occur instead of Otho.

27. 1603, Feb. 12, Mar. 6. *A Woman Killed with Kindness*. Published with Heywood's name, but no company or theatre mentioned. Prologue and Epilogue, but no Dedication or *Dram. Pers.*

Henslow's entries end here. Worcester's players become Queen Anne's, and act at the Curtain.

28. *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, C., has no theatre or company mentioned, but was certainly acted c. 1604, Feb. (see iii. 3 for the month). In iii. 3, "We shall have thee claim kindred with *The Woman Killed with Kindness*." Many plays, of which this is the latest, are alluded to; e.g., *The Devil and his Dame*, *Mother Redcap*, *Cutting Dick*, *Jack Drum*, *Too good to be true*, &c. This may be the same as

How to learn of a woman to woo, acted before the King 1604, Dec. 30, according to the forged, but generally truthful, document of P. Cunningham. A Pill to purge Melancholy is mentioned v. 3, but Lowndes gives this as n.d., and I have not found it in S. R. Sencer, iv. 1, says he was of Peterhouse. Heywood probably acted this character. In ii. 1 wizard is used as a feminine, which removes a difficulty in *Macbeth*; and in iv. 2 the way in which "live and die" is used solves another crux in *Measure for Measure*.

29. 1, 2 *If you Know not me you Know Nobody*, or *The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth*—"Part 1 in her minority; Part 2 after her accession"—was published 1605 by N. Butter from "a plot" drawn "by stenography; scarce one word true." So Heywood, in a Prologue to the play of *Queen Elizabeth*, as it was last revived at the Cockpit, when the play was more than of age in Charles' reign, probably c. 1631, when Heywood published his prose account of Elizabeth. It was acted in rivalry to Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, as revived by Prince Henry's men c. 1604. It has a clown and Dumb Shows. In Sc. 5 "a virgin and a martyr both" indicates, I think, that *Dioclesian* was still on the stage. In Part 2, Sc. 11, &c., Tawnycoat's name is John Rowland, but in Sc. 7 it was John Goodfellow. This shows alteration. *Englishmen for my money*, Sc. 12, and *Joan as good as my Lady*, Sc. 14, are alluded to. Heywood's complaint of incorrectness seems groundless as to Part 2. The ending was greatly altered at the last revival, and a Chorus inserted.

30. *The Rape of Lucrece*, "a true Roman Tragedy," was the first play published by Heywood's consent "in his native habit." He says the preceding publications were "corrupt and mangled, copied only by the ear." I cannot fix the date of performance closer than c. 1605, but it was after James' accession (see the "King's head" in the song Sc. 7). It was

revived 1628, Wednesday, Aug. 7 (see the Isham letter in *The Athenæum*, 18th Oct. 1879).

30*. *How to learn of a woman to woo* was acted at Court 1604, Dec. 30, by the Queen's men before King James. But see under 28.

31. *Nobody and Somebody*, "with the true Chronicle History of Elidure, &c.," was entered S. R. 1606, Mar. 12, for J. Trundle (who had entered *The Picture of Nobody* 1606, Jan. 8); sold "in Barbican at the sign of Nobody." Acted by Queen Anne's servants before and after 1604, Mar. 19, when James assumed the title of King of Great Britain. England has been altered into Britain in many places, but left in as many others; and the occurrence of both names in Sc. 10 shows that this was not due to difference of authorship. That Heywood was the author, and that the play was printed from a copy, and not obtained by stenography, as he would have us believe was the case in plays not published by him—of which this was one, for it has no dedication or author's name—is evident from the spelling "ey" (for ay or I), which is, as far as my knowledge extends, peculiar to him. But how long before 1604 this play was acted in some form I cannot at present tell. The 1620 German translation differs essentially in the action, and is, I think, from a play of c. 1590. Simpson's objection as to Elidure's being therein King of England, Scotland, and Ireland will not hold. According to the English mythical History from Dunwallo onwards the Kings were of Britain, not England only. The determination of this question depends on the identification of Lord Sycophant, who, as Simpson says, is certainly a noble of the Court of Elizabeth; perhaps Henry Lord Cobham, called by Essex "the Sycophant even to the Queen herself" (Wotton); but Simpson is quite wrong in making "the Southern Isle" of i. 1

the Cinque ports. It is clearly the Isle of Wight, of which George Carey's government was complained of in 1588. George Carey's mother was a daughter of Sir T. Morgan, and the claims in i. 1 turn on a title by inheritance on Morgan's part, and one by the jointure of "Lord Morgan's mother" on Malgo's. A more intimate knowledge of the history of this island than I possess would, no doubt, clear up the allusions. "'Tis a mad world, Master," Sc. 4, must, I think, fix the final alterations to 1606, Mar., just the time of publication; but the "England" version may have been the 1602 play of *Albert Galles*, by Heywood and Smith, mentioned above. Henslow might easily mistake some such name as *Archigalle's three sons* for *Albert Galles*. Note that Somebody, represented in the picture as nearly all body would be no bad caricature of Henry Lord Cobham, the Falstaff of Shakespeare (see my *Land of Shakespeare* on this point). The playhouse-yard, Sc. 14, merely means the pit, which is so called in the indentures for building the Globe, and does not signify an inn-yard. The Clown parts, Sc. 1, l. 98-163 (Simpson's numbering), 2, 4, 9, 11, 14 (part), and the final revision, are by Heywood; Sc. 1 (the rest), 3, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14 (part), by another hand. Query Smith's.

32. *Fortune by Land and Sea*, T. C., was published 1655 as by T. Haywood and W. Rowley. Acted by the Queen's servants. Although I cannot trace Rowley's hand in this play, the ascription of authorship must, I think, point to a date when he and Heywood acted together as Queen's men. Rowley never belonged to Queen Henrietta's company; but he and Heywood were of Queen Anne's in 1607-9, and in 1609 the public were excited about pirates (see *The Christian turned Turk*, by Daborne). The plot is partly from the verse account of the pirates, Clinton and Tom Watton the Purser, S. R.

1586, Aug. 15, for which see Shak. Soc. *Papers*, iii. 2. On 1638, Feb. 15, John Okes entered S. R. *The Martyred Soldier*, "with the life and death of Purser [and] Clinton." As Wotton and Clinton have nothing in common with Belisarius, the martyred soldier, this must be an instance of the not unusual bookseller's trick of that time of getting two plays entered for one payment. An expression, "hand to hand in single opposition," ii. 4, occurs also in *The Thracian Wonder*. Heywood constantly repeats himself. I may add that there is no decisive instance of his writing as coadjutor after leaving Henslow in 1603.

PLAYS AT THE COCKPIT, 1622-1634.

33, 34. 1, 2 *The Fair Maid of the West*, or *A Girl worth Gold*, C., published 1631, June 16, S. R., as "lately acted before the King and Queen" [probably at Christmas 1630] by Queen Henrietta's men, has a list of the 1630 actors, Dedications to T. Hammon and J. Othow of Gray's Inn; one Prologue and one Epilogue, both for the Court; and Addresses, the second of which, I think, alludes to *Fortune by Land and Sea*, not then published. These plays have Chorus and Dumb Show; v. 2 begins thus—

"It is not now as when Andrea lived!
Or rather Andrew, our elder journeyman."

Cane, the Andrew here alluded to, had been an actor at the Cockpit in 1622, and perhaps later, but before 1630. Apparently he left that company; he was a member of Prince Charles' men in 1632, Jan. The date of the action is 1597; that of the first production of the play uncertain; but it is quite certain that the ballad which assigns it to the Lady Elizabeth's men at the Cockpit before 1617 is a forgery of Collier's. The Greenstreet papers show that Heywood was

then a Queen's man at the Bull. I have thus a full confirmation of my reiterated denunciation of this most impudent of all fabrications; it is printed in Collier's *Annals*, i. 403. The only guess I can make at the date is that the end of Part 2, which surely has a by-reference to the Queen of Bohemia—

“And you the mirror of your sex and nation,
Fair English Elizabeth, as well for virtue
As admired beauty,”

must have been written about 1622, “ere you depart our Court.” This would agree with the reference to Andrew Cane. The text of the latter portion of Part 2 is very corrupt. As to the date of original production, *The Proud Maid*, acted at Court by the L. Eliz. men 1612, c. Mar. (and absurdly identified with *The Maid's Tragedy* by some critics), was probably founded on the ballad of *The Proud Maid of Plymouth*, S. R. 1595, Oct. 15, and this *Proud Maid of Plymouth* was probably Bess Bridges; but this could not have been Heywood's play, as he was then writing for Queen Anne's men.

35. *The Captives*, or *The Lost recovered*, C., was licensed by Herbert 1624, Sept. 3, for the Cockpit Company (L. Elizabeth's), and published from the MS. by Mr. A. H. Bullen. Heywood's name then appears for the first time in Herbert's 1623-4 list, so that he could not have been writing some six plays a year, as commonly supposed; but that he was acting we know from the Greenstreet MSS. (see my *History of the Stage*, p. 293 *seq.*). One Gibson, otherwise unknown, appears as an actor v. 1; this MS. was therefore a stage copy. The “French monster,” scored out in i. 1, shows, I think, that this copy was still used after the marriage of Charles I. With the “pen, ink, and paper” so carefully enumerated iii. 1, compare *The Trial of Chivalry*,

v. i. In iii. 2 Gib[son] and Stage Taylor are marked in the margin to be ready to enter (Query as "country fellows"). In iii. 3, "Anything for a quiet life" alludes to Middleton's play, and is not merely a "proverbial expression." In v. 3 Mildred says it is "not leap year," but 1624 was Leap-year. This new play may have been an old one refurbished. The main plot is from Plautus' *Rudens*. For the friars' part compare *The Jew of Malta*, and for the spelling Sarleboys *Hoffman* and *The Trial of Chivalry*, v. 2. This MS. has many passages scored out, not by the Master of the Revels, but to shorten it for the stage.

36. *The English Traveller*, T. C., was published 1633, as acted by Queen Henrietta's servants, with a Dedication to Sir H. Appleton, and Address by Heywood. This play, too, is indebted to Plautus, the Lionel part being taken from the *Mostellaria*. Compare also Jonson's *Alchemist*. But the Geraldine story is said by Heywood, in his posthumous *History of Women*, to be absolute fact. If so, Geraldine, who had visited Jerusalem and discoursed on the "proportioned distances of the towns in Palestine;" who had been in the [Turkish] Empire, Italy, Greece, and Palestine, must have been a well-known traveller. He was, I think, George Sandys, whose travels in all these parts were published in 1610. I do not know if Sandys, like Geraldine, had visited Spain. In iv. 6 the statue-picture of Fortune before the (rebuilt?) Fortune playhouse is mentioned. In the Prologue the play is described as bare lines, without Drum, Trumpet, Dumb Show, Combat, Marriage, Song, Dance, or Mask, all "still in frequent use," to bombast it out. But, as usual with Heywood, he uses two plots not interwoven, but scarcely touching, to bombast his own play. The date is, I think, soon after Charles' accession, c. 1627. Compare the *Anno Tertio* in i. 2.

37. *The Jew of Malta*, by Marlow, was acted by Queen Henrietta's men before her and King Charles at the Whitehall Theatre, and was also revived at the Phoenix, before it was entered for N. Vavasor S. R. 1632, Nov 20. This, the earliest edition we have (although it was entered for T. Millington 1594, May 17), was published by Heywood, with Dedication to Thomas Hammon of Gray's Inn, Prologues, and Epilogues. He says he presented it; probably about Christmas 1631. In his *Dialogues* he again printed the Prologues and Epilogues, and says that Perkins acted the Jew. In the Court Epilogue, "what others write," I think, indicates a second author; and I have no doubt that the Bellamira part was inserted by Heywood to bombast out Marlow's short play. This is iii. 1; iv. 4, 5; v. 1. The prose shows it not to be Marlow's, and the story is that of the friars in *The Captives*.

38. *A Maidenhead well lost*, C., was acted by Queen Henrietta's men before June 1634. It has Dumb Shows and a clown. It was published by Heywood, with Address, Prologue, and Epilogue. He seems to have valued it slightly, as there is no Dedication. I should take its date to be earlier than some of the plays already mentioned. Note "snapsack," ii. 1. Heywood usually writes "knapsack" in his later plays. Query, an alteration of 11. *Joan as good as my Lady*.

39. *Love's Mistress*, or *The Queen's Mask*, was played before the King, Queen, and sundry foreign Ambassadors three times within eight days. Publicly acted by Queen Henrietta's men. Published by Heywood 1636 (S. R. 1635, Sept. 30), with Dedication to the Earl of Dorset and Address. The second "Royal view" was at the Queen's entertainment to the King on his birthday at Denmark (Somerset) House. Inigo Jones then changed the stage on every occasion almost

to every scene. It was "fresh and new" when presented publicly. This was in 1633; the birthday was 1634, Nov. 19 (Wednesday), before the S. R. entry, and after 1633, Nov. 19, when *The Young Admiral*, by Shirley, was acted at St. James'. The title of *Queen's Mask* was given it 1634, Nov. 19. From the 1633 Prologue it appears that Cupid "descended in a cloud" on the public stage. Scenery was therefore used. In the Denmark House Prologue and Epilogue Cupid mentions and points to "the Planets." The Sun, Mercury, and Venus appear in the play; but the Moon and Jupiter are also mentioned, and I suppose Mars and Saturn must have joined in the final dance. A Prologue "at the second time the same week" (the first presentation must have been, then, in the preceding week, on Saturday, and this, the third, on Saturday, Nov. 22) strangely gives as second title, not *The Queen's Mask*, but the original name, *Cupid and Psyche* (see above, 7. *Five plays in One*). The original play evidently contained merely their story; the Clown scenes, ii. 3, iii. 2, iv. 2, v. 2, were, I think, added at the 1633 public representation; and the Apuleius allegory before, between, and after the acts at the Royal view. The scene is Arcadia. Shirley's *Arcadia*, which preceded it, 1632, Nov. 19, should be read with this mask, and his *Triumph of Beauty*, 1639-40. All the new part is personal. Apuleius, I doubt not, is Heywood; Midas I guess to be Christopher Beeston, and his son Corydon, the clown, William Beeston. Midas prefers the song to Pan, the Arcadian god (Shirley's *Arcadia*), to Heywood's song to Apollo (perhaps an intended revival of *Apollo and Daphne*), (a song in which "*semel in anno redet Apollo*" is alluded to in iii. 2). Midas is the white boy of Arcadia, v. 2. All the pastoral names, Coridon, Colin, Dickon, Hobbinol, are Spenserian, and the allusions to Midas, Phaon, &c., from Lyly. The transfor-

mation of Apuleius had been represented in *The Golden Ass*, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1600, May, by Chettle, Day, and Dekker, (when Heywood had left the Admiral's men for Derby's ?); and I have little doubt that in this Apuleius Heywood had been caricatured as the mythological playwright, "with an ass head of his own," i. 1. Compare *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, iii. 1, 119, and *Twelfth Night*, v. 212, where Aguecheek is perhaps the same as Apuleius here. The "ignorant ass" in i. 7 I take to mean Shirley. I have not space to note all the allusions, but for one that is important see *Pallantus and Eudora*.

40. *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* was acted by Queen Henrietta's men, after the first production of *Cupid and Psyche*, probably c. Christmas 1633, the Planets and Furies of that mask being referred to in the Prologue to the Stage. The Epilogue to the Reader was also printed in H. Shirley's *Martyred Soldier*, and probably belongs to neither, being a stock paragraph belonging to the company, applicable to any old play. Its insertion, however, shows that this was old. It was, I feel sure, the *Marshal Osrice* of 1602, Sept., by Heywood and Went. Smith, rewritten in consequence of the revival of Fletcher's *Loyal Subject*, 1633, Nov. The marks of alteration are numerous, besides the removal of rhyming words (which can be easily restored) by alteration and transposition, the substitution of the name Katharine for Margaret, the transference of the name Cock from the Corporal to the Clown, and the expunging of Lord Lacy altogether. All this we learn from the *Dram. Pers.*, which have not been rewritten. The parts of the play which have been entirely replaced by new, as shown by the absence of changed rhymes, and which, therefore, I assign to Smith, in the early version, are

i. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; ii. 2; v. 1, at the least. He wrote half, and was paid half, £3.

The bar and scaffold "for the play of Berowne" are entered in Henslow immediately after this play. In v. 2 "a bar" is set out, and the King calls for "a scaffold," which was no doubt set out also to increase the comedy of the ending, where a tragedy was expected. There is no note of "Berowne" in Malone's trustworthy extracts (*Variorum*, iii. 327). Is this another forgery of Collier's? Note the four prisons in iii. 1; the word "condog," iii. 2, for which Lyttleton's *Dictionary* has been so abused; the "Key of office" in i. 2, which explains *The Tempest*, i. 2, 85; and the duplicate reading in ii. 1:—

{ She died some three months since;
 { Good lady, she's now gone;

an infallible sign of alteration.

40*. *Love's Masterpiece*, C., S. R. 1640, May 22, for J. Okes. Not published.

PLAYS REVIVED BY BROME FOR THE KING'S MEN,

1634-5.

41. *The late Lancashire Witches*, C., was acted at the Globe in 1634, shortly before publication S. R. Oct. 28, when the witches had not yet been pardoned. Compare [Brome's] Epilogue with Mrs. E. L. Linton's excellent *Witch Stories*, p. 230. The play was "written by T. Heywood and R. Brome," but evidently Heywood's part is founded on *The Witches of Lancaster*, by T. Potts, 1613 (tried 1612, Aug. 17). The northern dialect is that of Brome's *Northern Lass*; and the Seely part, i. 2; iii. 1, 3; iv. 3; v. 1, 5 (part), should be compared with *The Antipodes*, which repeats the Erewhonian inversions of position,

Although Heywood's motto (from the old play, I suppose) appears on the title-page, there is no Dedication, and he did not publish it. The story of *Nan Generous*, i. 1; ii. 2, 5; iii. 2; iv. 2, 4, 5; v. 2, 3, 4, 5 (part), is Heywood's, but considerably accommodated by Brome; while in the witch scenes, ii. 1, 3*a*, 4; iv. 1, we get positive proof of alterations made by him. In ii. 1 the witches are Maud (Hargrave, 1633), Meg (Johnson, 1633), Gil (Goody Dickenson, 1633), and presumably Mall (Spenser, 1633); for only three witches speak, though four are mentioned in the stage directions. But in iv. 5 we find "Call Meg and Doll, Tib, Nab, and Jug;" and in v. 2 "Moll, Nab, Jug, and Peg." Before alteration v. 2 must have been "Doll, Nab, Jug, and Tib." Meg, however (if five witches, making up the orthodox number of six with Mrs. Generous, be admitted in the older play), may be Margaret Pearson, 1612. I rather think, as Heywood does not give the true Christian names, that the iv. 5 line was written "Call Doll and Tib, and Nab and Jug," and that it was imperfectly altered. The familiars are to be assigned thus: Suckling to Gilian Dickenson, Puggy to Mary Spenser, Mamillion (from the 1634 trial) to Margarget Johnson, and Puckling to Maud Hargrave. The turning Robin into a horse (and therefore the Mrs. Generous story) dates 1634 (see the trial). In ii. 3 the "invisible spirit" (acted by F. Adson, unknown elsewhere), "with a brace of greyhounds," is also from the 1633 story, but it is mixed up with the boy and greyhounds, ii. 4, which is taken from the 1612 trial. The boy of the 1634 play is Edmund Robinson, the chief witness in the trial, who afterwards confessed his imposture. These witches were pardoned, but twelve of the 1612 batch were hanged. The pre-judgment implied in this play was a cruel pandering to

popular prejudice. iv. 1, the witches in the barn is from the 1634 trial. There are allusions to *Macbeth*, "The Scottish wayward sisters," ii. 2; the late counterfeit coin, ii. 3; Prynne, ii. 3; and a man "who flew to Paris and back to London in a day," iii. 1.

42. *The Apprentice' Prize*, and 43. *The life and death of Sir Martin Skink*, "with the wars in the Low Countries," were entered S. R. 1654, April 8, as by R. Brome and T. Heywood. These must also date 1634, the only year in which these authors wrote for the same company.

44. *A Challenge for Beauty* was acted at the Blackfriars and the Globe before 1636, June 17 (probably in 1635), when it was published with a Prologue (characterising the dramas of various nations) and an Epilogue, but no Dedication. The company issued it just after the plague began. In iii. 4 there is an allusion to Prynne's punishment, 1634, May. It contains a song from *The Rape of Lucrece*, and was Heywood's last production for the stage that has reached us.

PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES.

In his *Dialogues and Dramas* Heywood published a number of these, of which I here give a list from Pearson's reprint:—

1. [1630], Nov. 19, at Somerset House. The Queen feasting the King on his birthday. "Little Charles" recently born.

2. [1630], at the new Theatre at Whitehall. To the King and Queen at the first play there by the Queen's men.

3. 1631, Jan 1. To the King and Queen. Two-faced Janus, with a key. Only "an heir," but a second child hoped for.

4. [1631.] To the King only, the Queen being great with child, in the seventh year of their marriage.

5. [1634.] At Whitehall, to the King and Queen, after 1633, Nov. 17 (see my *History of the Stage*, p. 315).

6. [1634.] At Hampton Court, to the King and Queen. Prynne alluded to; also Apollo and Daphne and the Planets [as in *The Silver Age*, not as in *The Queen's Mask*].

7. [1635.] At Whitehall, to the King and Queen. Nestor and the Heroes alluded to [as in *The Brazen Age*].

8. [1635.] On the like occasion, to the King and Queen. The Queen's men presented four plays at Hampton Court and five plays at Whitehall in 1635, for some of which Heywood may have written Prologues, although he had left that company. But, query, were these all presented in 1635?

9. [1636], Jan. 1. To the King on a New Year's Day. The Queen, it seems, was not present. P. Elizabeth was born 1635, Dec. 28 (cf. 4).

10. [1636.] To the like purpose, at the Court. Pan and Apollo [Shirley and Heywood] alluded to. 9 and 10 were, I think, for King's men's plays. The Queen's men had been performing Shirley's plays at Court, 1636.

The dates of the births of Charles' children, &c., being incorrectly given in many histories, I here append them. They are needed in determining these Prologue dates:—

1600, Nov. 19, King Charles' birthday. Queen Henrietta's birthday was Nov. 16.

1625, Mar. 27, their marriage.

1628, Mar. 18, first child, Charles, born. Died the same day.

1630, May 29, Charles II. born.

1631, Nov. 4, Mary born.

1633, Oct. 13, James born.

1635, Dec. 28, Elizabeth born.

1637, Mar. 17, Anne born. Died 1640, Dec. 8.

1640, July 8, Henry born.

1644, June 16, Henrietta Maria born.

I have every reason to suppose that Heywood gives these Prologues in chronological order. He next passes to a group at Henry Carey the Earl of Dover's houses:—

1. [1634–5], Christmas. At Broadstreet. The Speaker Hospitality “at a play.”

2. [1635], Candlemas. At Broadstreet. Carey had “begun to grace the City” with his presence.

3. [1636], last New Year's night. At Hunsdon, before a mask of 9 ladies. The Dialogues were entered S. R. 1635, Aug. 29, but added to up to 1636 (see *infra*).

[1635], a Prologue for a young lad playing *Richard 3* at the Red Bull.

1635, Nov. 19. “On his Majesty's last birth-night, he being then 35 years of age, and the Queen great with child.” This proves additions after 1635, Aug.

1635, Nov. 22. To the Palsgrave on his first coming over, in the presence of His Majesty.

For the Prologues to *The Rich Jew of Malta*, *The Fair Maid of the West*, and *The Queen's Mask* see under those plays, *supra*.

All these Prologues date, then, between 1630 and 1636, and Collier is quite wrong in saying they were written “at remote dates.”

PAGEANTS.

45. 1631. *London's Jus Honorarium*, for G. Whitmore's Mayoralty. Haberdashers' Society. There are dragons in it spitting fire. Gerald Christmas “express the models.”

46. 1632. *Londini Artium et Scientiarum Scaturigo*, *London's Fountain of Arts and Sciences*, for N. Raynton's

Mayoralty. Haberdashers' Company. Note Katherine the Virgin Martyr, their patron saint, who has nothing in common with Massinger's play.

47. 1633. *Londini Emporia, or London's Mercatura*, for R. Freeman's Mayoralty. Clothworkers' Company.

48. 1635. *Londini Sinus Salutis, or London's Harbour of Health and Happiness*, for C. Clethrowe's Mayoralty. Ironmongers' Company. The choice of Paris is alluded to by the three goddesses. J. and M. Christmas fashioned the structures.

49. 1637. *Londini Speculum, or London's Mirror*, for R. Fenn's Mayoralty. Haberdashers' Company. J. and M. Christmas were "the artists and directors."

50. 1638. *Porta Pietatis, or The Port or Harbour of Piety*, for M. Abbot's Mayoralty. Drapers' Company. "A shepherd with his scrip and bottle" in the first show. John and Mathias Christmas "composed the pieces."

51. 1639. *Londini Status Pacatus, or London's Peaceable Estate*, for H. Garway's Mayoralty. Drapers' Company. With birds and beasts in Show 3; Jason and the Golden Fleece, drawn by Cammels, "amongst us rarely seen," in Show 4; a ship in Show 5. These shows of 1638 and 1639 are ridiculed by Shirley in his *Triumph of Beauty*. J. and M. Christmas "contrived the Models."

HOLIDAY, Dr. BARTEN. (University.)

1. 1618, April 20, for John Parker. *The Marriages of the Arts*, C., 1618, 1630.

Son of Thomas Holiday, tailor; born in All Saints parish, Oxford; entered at Christ Church under Dr. Ravis, his patron and relation; B.A., M.A.; took holy orders in 1615; was popular as a preacher and got two good Oxfordshire livings. In 1618 went as chaplain to Sir Francis Stewart to Spain with Gondomar; on his return was made chaplain

to Charles I., and was Archdeacon of Oxford before 1626. The rest of his career does not concern us. He died 1661.

1. *Technogamia*, or *The Marriages of the Arts*, was acted in Christ Church Hall 13th Feb. 1618 by the students; and Sunday, 26th Aug. 1621, before the King at Woodstock. On the King's impatience with it see Nichols, *James*, iii. 713.

HOWARD, Sir GEORGE. (Mask.)

1. *The Triumph of Cupid*.

HUGHES, THOMAS. (Court Show).

1. *Certain Devices and Shows* presented to Her Majesty by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn . . . at Greenwich 28th Feb. 1587[-8]. Printed by Robert Robinson 1587.

1. *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. "Uther Pendragon's son reduced into tragical notes by Thomas Hughes of Gray's Inn." He was assisted by William Fulbeck (two speeches), Nicholas Trotte (Introduction), Francis Flower (Choruses, i. ii.), Christopher Yelverton, Francis Bacon, and John Lancaster (Dumb Shows). A play on the Seneca model.

INGELAND, THOMAS. (Interlude.)

1. 1564, Sept.—Oct., for Thomas Colwell. *A picture of a child*.

Ingeland was student of Christ College, Cambridge.

1. *The Disobedient Child* (a revived interlude of the time of Edward VI.) was probably acted at Court 6th March 1560-1; (*Ralph Royster*, which in my *History of the Stage* I assigned to that date, being more likely acted 1561-2.) If so, it was acted by the Paul's boys; and 2. *The Nice Wanton* whose author is not known, may also have been written by Ingeland. There is no evidence that interludes of the morality species were ever acted at Court by men players. See my *History of the Stage*, pp. 57, 58.

JAQUES, FRANCIS. (Play).

1. Brit. Mus. MS. Lansd. 807. *The Queen of Corsica*, T., 1642. Probably not acted.

JEFFREY, JOHN. (Play).

1. *The Bugbears*, C., tempore Elizabeth. Brit. Mus. MS. Lansd. 807. Translated from the Italian. One character is named Biondello. At the end "*Johannes Jeffere scribebat hoc.*" Jeffrey may be the scribe, may be the author.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM. (Latin.)

1. *Valetudinarium*, C., by W. Johnson, student of King's, Cambridge. Acted 1638. Scene, St. Bartholomew's Hospital. MSS. common. See *Leander*.

2. *Leander* was acted at Cambridge in 1598 and in 1602. MSS. common. On that in the Bodleian, MSS. *Rawl. Misc.* 341, the name W. Johnson occurs on the fly-leaf, but the date is too early for this W. Johnson's authorship.

JONES, INIGO. (Architect and Mask-plotter.)

Inigo, son of Inigo Jones, clothworker, was christened at St. Bartholomew the Less, West Smithfield, 19th July 1573. The father's will, made 14th Feb. 1597, was proved 5th April. The son had probably served his apprenticeship as a joiner. His skill in landscape had been noticed by a Lord (Arundel or Pembroke?), who sent him to Italy. He next became architect to Christian IV. of Denmark. On his return to England he took to architecture, c. 1604. On 16th June 1609 he was paid for "carrying letters into France." He was Surveyor of the Works to Prince Henry from 1610, Jan. 13, to 1612, Nov. 5, when the Prince died. He then went to Italy; was there 1613, Sept. 23, to 1614, Aug. 13. Back in London 1615, Jan. 26, and succeeded Simon Basil as Surveyor of the Works to the King as from 1615, Oct. 1. The Banqueting House at Whitehall was

burned 12th Jan. 1619; Jones rebuilt it 1619-1622. His career as an architect is out of my purview, except the laying out of Covent Garden 1631-1638, which is alluded to in several plays. He died 21st June 1652. His masks were the following:—

1. 1605, Jan. 6. *Blackness*, with Jonson. A Queen's mask.

2. 1605, Aug. 28, *Alba*; 3. Aug. 29, *Ajax Flagellifer*; 4. Aug. 30, *Vertumnus* (by Gwynne), were acted at Christ Church, Oxford, before the Court, with Jones' devices, wherein "the stage varied three times," by means of turning pillars, which, of course, were triangular, as on the Greek stage.

5. 1606, Jan. 6. *Hymen*, with Jonson. For the Earl of Essex' marriage.

6. 1608, Feb. 9. *The Hue and Cry after Cupid*, with Jonson. For Viscount Haddington's marriage.

7. 1609, Feb. 2. *Queens*, with Jonson. A Queen's mask.

8. 1610, June 5. *Tethys' Festival*, with Daniel. A Queen's mask.

9. 1613, Feb. 15. [Plutus] *The Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn mask*, with Chapman. For the Princess Elizabeth's marriage.

10. 1623, Jan. 19. *Time vindicated*, with Jonson. A Prince's mask.

11. 1624, Jan. 6, prepared, but put off; 1625, Jan. 9, represented. *Neptune's Triumph*, with Jonson.

12. 1624, c. June 5. *Pan's Anniversary*, with Jonson.

13. 1630, Jan. 6. *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, with Jonson. A King's mask.

14. 1630, Shrovetide. *Chloridia*, with Jonson. A Queen's mask. For the quarrel ensuing hereon see Jonson; as also for Jonson's earlier quarrels with and satire of Jones.

15. 1632, Jan. 8. *Albion's Triumph*, with Townsend. A King's mask.

16. 1632, Feb. 13. *Tempe Restored*, with Townsend. A Queen's mask.

17. 1634, Feb. 3. *The Triumph of Peace*, with Shirley. Presented by the Inns of Court.

18. 1634, Feb. 18. *Cælum Britannicum*, with Carew. A King's mask.

19. 1634, Nov. 19. *Love's Mistress*, with Heywood. A Queen's mask.

20. 1635, Feb. 10. *The Temple of Love*, with Davenant. A Queen's mask.

21. 1635, Dec. 21. *Florimène* (in French). A Queen's pastoral.

22. 1638, Jan. 7. *Britannia Triumphans*, with Davenant. A King's mask.

23. 1638, Feb. 6. *Luminalia*. A Queen's mask.

24. 1640, Jan. 21. *Salmacida Spolia*, with Davenant. King and Queen's mask.

For all these see under their authors' names.

In the Shakespeare Society *Life of Inigo Jones* a number of his drawings for mask costumes are *facsimiled*, and much nonsensical rubbish is appended to show that they were meant for actors in Shakespeare's plays. I therefore give here a list of such of these as I have identified. They were all drawn for masks.

20. The Tooth-Drawer; 21. The Corncutter (Plate xi.), are for *Pan's Anniversary*, 1624.

3. The Airy Spirit; 4. Skogan; 5. Skelton; 6. A brother of the Rosy Cross (Plate iii.). are for *The Fortunate Isles*, 1625.

2. Cade (Plate ii.); 7. Harlequin; 8. Mountebank (Plate vi.); 12. Kett (Plate vi.); 16. (Damsel); 17. Dwarf (Plate

x.); 19. Giant (Plate xi.); 22. Scraper; 23. Gridiron; 24. Ballad Singer (Plate xii.); 25. Knackers; 26. Tongs (Plate xiii.); 27. Armed Head (Plate xiii.), are for *Britannia Triumphans*, 1638.

9. English; 10. Irish; 11. Scotch (Plate v.), are for *Salmacida Spolia*, 1640.

1. Pilgrim (Plate i.); 14. Morisco (Plate viii.); 15. Torchbearer (Plate ix.); 18. Lanier (Plate x.), are too indefinite to assign to any particular mask.

13. Kniperdoling (Plate vii.) I have not met with.

I should have liked to pursue this investigation further, and wrote to the Duke of Devonshire, the patron of Collier, for permission to examine the other drawings of Jones in his possession, but did not get even the courtesy of a reply.

JONES, JOHN. (Play.)

1. *Adrasta, or The Woman's Spleen and Love's Conquest*, T. C., 1635.

Founded on Boccaccio's *Decameron*, viii. 8. Refused by the actors. Never acted.

JONSON, BENJAMIN. (Actor, playwright, Mask and Entertainment writer, poet, &c.)

6. 1600, April 8, for W. Holme. *Every Man out of his Humor*, "a comical satire," 1600; "as it was first composed by the author, containing more than hath been publicly spoken or acted, with the several character of every person." 1600 *bis*, for N. Ling, "by the author, B. J."

5. 1600, Aug. 14, for C. Burby and W. Burre. *Every man in his humor*, C., 1601, "by Ben Johnson," as "acted by the Lord Chamberlain his servants." This had been "stayed" 1600, Aug. 4, with three of Shakespeare's plays, all entered for different publishers.

9. 1601, May 23, for W. Burre. *Narcissus, or The*

Fountain of Self-Love; 1601. "or *Cynthia's Revels*, written by Ben Johnson."

10. 1601, Dec. 21, for M. Lownes. *Poetaster*, or *His [the]. Arraignment*, 1602, "a comical satire."

29. 1604, Mar. 19, for E. Blunt. Part of King James' *Entertainment in passing to his Coronation*, 1604, Mar. 15, Arches i. v., "by Benjamin Johnson;" 1604, "B. Jon." [with changed spelling]. With the *Panegyric* on James and the *Entertainment at Althorpe*.

14. 1604, Nov. 2, for E. Blunt. *Sejanus*, T., by B. Johnson; 1605, by G. Elde, for T. Thorpe, "*Sejanus his fall*, written by Ben Jonson."

34. *Hymenæi*, 1606, by V. Sims for T. Thorpe, at Essex' marriage, *Twelfth Night*, "by Ben Jonson."

16. Ben Jonson, his *Volpone*, or *The Fox*, 1607, for T. Thorpe; "11th Feb. 1607, from my house at Blackfriars."

1608, April 21, for T. Thorpe, The character of *two Royal Masks*, invented by Ben Johnson.

35. *Blackness and Beauty*, "by Ben Jonson." [1608.]

36. *Mask at Haddington's Marriage*, 1608, Shrove Tuesday. [1608, for T. Thorpe.]

4. 1609, Jan. 26, for H. Walley and R. Bonion [and B. Sutton, 1609, July 20]. *The case is altered*, C., 1609, for B. Sutton, "B. Jonson, His *case is altered*," and a second title-page, "*The Case is altered*."

37. 1609, Feb. 22, for R. Bonyon and H. Walley. The Mask of *Queens*, celebrated "by Benjamin Johnson;" 1609, by N. Okes for R. Bonyon and H. Walley.

18. 1610, Sept. 20, for J. Browne and J. Busby, junior, *Epicæne*, or *The Silent Woman*, C., "by Ben Johnson;" 1609 [?], 1612, 1620.

19. 1610, Oct. 3, for W. Burre. *The Alchemist*, C., "by

Ben Johnson ;" 1612, T. Snodham for W. Burre ; sold by J. Stepneth.

20. *Catiline, his conspiracy*, T., by Ben Jonson, 1611, for W. Burre ; 1635.

1612, May 15, for J. Stepneth. Ben Johnson, his *Epi-grams*. Not known.

1615, Jan. 20, for W. Stansby. Certain *masks* at the Court never yet printed, written by Ben Johnson ; *i.e.*, all of the 1616 Folio (by W. Stansby) which had not previously been published.

48. *Lovers ma Men* [Gifford's *Lethe*]. A mask at L. Hay's 1617. No place, printer, or publisher given.

1618, June 14, for M. Sparkes. *A discourse of Love, or Songs, Sonnets, and Elegies betwixt Withers and Johnson*.

53. The mask of *Augurs*, presented Twelfth Night, 1621[-2], *sine ulla nota*.

Ben Jonson, his *Motives* (*re* Inigo Jones), 1622 (Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*) ; but should not the date be 1633 ? Not now known.

1623, Oct. 2, for Blount. Barclay's *Argennis*, translated by Benjamin Johnson. Not now known.

56. 1624, Dec. 29. "For the Palsgrave's company [at the Fortune], a new play called *The Masque*. The Masque book was allowed of for the press, and was brought me by Mr. Jon[son] the 29th Dec. ;" so far Herbert. *The Fortunate Isles and their union* was meant to be performed at Court 1624, Jan. 9. It was afterwards altered into *Nep-tune's Triumph*, which, after the mask had been put off on 1624, Jan. 6, was presented 1625, Jan. 6 (see Nichols, iii. pp. 1026, 1027). Gifford is hopelessly wrong. It was published *sine ulla nota* [in 1624], and as no other mask was then published, must be the one mentioned by Herbert. A copy in Brit. Mus., Geo. III. collection, catalogued under

"*Isles*" (Nichols), and so mentioned in the Trustees' *Catalogue* of books before 1640.

24. 1626, April 14, for J. Waterson. *The Staple of News*, C. [not then published].

59. *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, 1630.

60. *Chloridia* [1630], for T. Walkley.

25. 1631, April 17, for T. Alchorne. *The New Inn*, C., by Ben Johnson; 1631, by T. Harper for T. Alchorne, with second title, *The light Heart*.

1639, Dec. 16, for J. Benson. *The Execration against Vulcan, with Epigrams*, never published before; 1640, by J. O. for J. Benson. This volume contains 52. The mask of *the Gypsies*, 1640, Feb. 20; Horace's *Art of Poetry*, S. R. 1640, Feb. 8; and *The ode, Underwoods*, 68 (88). The second *Folio* making up "*the works*," 1631-1640, for W. Stansby, sold by R. Meighen; 1631-41, by R. Bishop, sold by A. Crooke; 1641, 1692.

See also *The Widow*, *The Spanish Curate*, *The City Madam*, *Byron*, *Julius Cæsar*.

VERSES PREFIXED BY JONSON TO—

1600, Aug. 22, *Pasquil's Swollen* [Sullen] *Humors*; i.e., N. Breton's *Melancholic Humours* (Gifford's *Underwoods*, 23).

1601, (affixed) with verses by *Vatum Chorus, Ignoto*, Shakespeare, Marston, Chapman. *Forest* 10, 11, and perhaps *The Phoenix Analysed* and *The Ode* (Hotten's edition, iii. 269).

1601, June 12, T. Wright's *Passions of the Mind* (U. G. 25).

1600-9, C. Edmonds' *Cæsar* (with verses by Camden, Daniel, Sylvester) (*Epigrams* 110, 111).

1603, Aug. 1, *To Pancharis*, "*Ode allegorice*" (iii. 529) on Owen Tudor and the Queen.

- 1605, J. Sylvester's *Dubartas* (*Epig.* 132).
 1609, J. Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* (U. G. 14).
 1609, Feb. 1, A. Ferrabosco's *Airs* (*Epig.* 130, 131).
 1611, April 15, W. Raleigh's *History of the World*,
 (U. G. 42).
 1611, June 7, Coryat's *Crudities* (with a character of
 the author)
 1612, April 29, Farnaby's edition of *Juvenal* (iii. 466).
 1613, J. Stephens' *Cynthia's Revenge* (U. G. 19).
 Printed by Cunningham, iii. 525, as "supplementary."
 1614, July 1, P. Hannay's *Husband* (U. G. 24).
 1614, July 14, J. Selden's *Titles of Honor*, (U. G. 31).
 1616, W. Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, Book ii. (U.
 G. 18).
 1618, Mar. 14, G. Chapman's *Hesiod* (U. G. 20).
 1623, Nov. 8, W. Shakspeare's *plays* (U. G. 11, 12).
 1626, April 18, T. May's *Lucan's Pharsalia*.
 1627, April 16, M. Drayton's *Agincourt*, &c. [written,
 no doubt, considerably earlier].
 1629, June 2, J. Beaumont's *poems* (U. G. 13).
 1629, E. Filmer's *Court Airs* (U. G. 27).
 1630, T. Warre's *Touchstone of Truth* (U. G. 26).
 1632, Mar. 24, R. Brome's *Northern Lass*, (U. G. 28).
 1634, Mrs. Sutcliffe's *Meditations* [with verses by
 Wither].
 1635, Jan. 19, Rutter's *Shepherd's Holiday* (U. G. 22).
 1635, Sept. 12, Stafford's *Female Glory* (iii. 527,
 Hotten's edition).
 1636, Jan. 11, R. Dover's *Annalia Dubrensia* (iii.
 466).
 1637 (Amsterdam), T. Morton's *The New English Canaan*
 (iii. 525, with date 1627).

These publication dates are necessarily somewhat later

than the dates of writing, which fact must be borne in mind in making inferential use of them, especially for the last noticed.

Even the smallest indications of Jonson's career are so important in the general history of the drama, and the neglect of his modern editors is so great in not furnishing the general reader with reprints of the Quarto editions, that I must dwell on minutiae to an extent that would not be permissible in the case of any other playmaker except Shakespeare. I therefore add here—

The Contents of the 1616 Folio.

Commendatory Verses.

Plays previously published in Quarto (except 4. *The Case is altered*).

Epigrams (to which I add, when I can, approximate dates), viz.:—

1612. 1. To the Reader. 2. To my Book. 3. To my Bookseller.

1604, March. 4. To King James. 5. On the Union; cf. 35, 36, 51.

6. To Alchemists.

7. On the new Hot-house.

8. On a Robbery.

9. To all to whom I write.

10. To my Lord Ignorant.

11. On something that walks somewhere.

12. On Lieutenant Shift.

13. To Doctor Empiric.

14. To W. Camden.

15. On Court-worm.

16. To Brain-hardy.

After 1599. 17. To the Learned Critic. 18. To my mere English Censure. In 18 we find a reference to Satirists. Davies (Sir John, not Davies of Hereford; *i.e.*, *The Epigrams* of 1597; not *The Scourge of Folly*) is mentioned; also Weever (*The Epigrams*, 1599; not *The Funeral Monuments*, 1631).

19, 20. To Sir Cod the Perfumer; cf. 50.

21. On Reformed Gamester.

1593. 22. On my First Daughter, "Mary, the daughter of her parents' youth," who died "at six months' end."

23. To John Donne.

1604, c. April. 24. To the Parliament.

25, 26. On Sir Voluptuous Beast.

1603-4. 27. On Sir John Roe. Died of the plague.

c. 1603. 28. On Don Surly, who speaks with a rhinocerate's nose.

? 1610, Mar. 24. 29. To Sir Annual Tilter. "Annual," therefore on a King's day. Was the "device" Sir R. Preston's Elephant? See Nichols, ii. 287.

30. To Person Guilty; cf. 38.

31. On Banck the Usurer; cf. 44.

1603-4. 32, 33. On Sir John Roe. 34. On Death.

1604, April. 35. To King James. 36. To the Ghost of Martial. (35 alludes to the plague 1603, and treasons (Gowry 1600, Raleigh 1603) and new laws 1604 Mar.)

37. On Chevril the Lawyer; cf. 54.

38. On Person Guilty; cf. 30.

39. On Old Colt.

40. On Margaret Ratcliff. Acrostic.

41. On Gipsy.

42. On Giles and Joan.

1605, May. 4. 43. To Robert [Cecil] Earl of Salisbury. Created 1605, May 4. Ob. 1612, May 24.

44. On Chuffe, Banck's the Usurer's Kinsman; cf. 31.
 1603, c. July. 45. On my first son, "when the King came in England and the pest was in London" (*Dram. Conv.*), seven years old.
- 46, 47. To Sir Luckless Woo-all.
 48. On Mungril, Esquire.
 49. To Playwright; cf. 68, 100.
 50. To Sir Cod; cf. 19, 20.
 1606, Mar. 22. 51. To King James on the rumour of his death.
52. To Censorious Courtling.
 53. To Old-end Gatherer.
 54. On Cheveril; cf. 37.
 1608. 55. To F. Beaumont (*q.v.*).
 56. On Poet-ape.
 57. On Bawds and Usurers. 58. To Groom Idiot.
 ? 1598, Oct. 59. On Spies (after imprisonment); but query 1606.
- 1606, c. Feb. 60. To William Lord Mounteagle (after Gunpowder Plot trial).
 61. To Fool or Knave.
 62. To Fine Lady Would-be.
 1606, 1608. 63, 64. To Robert Earl of Salisbury. (64. High Treasurer, *i.e.* 1608, May 6); cf. *Und.* 28 (49).
 65. To my Muse.
- 1606, c. June. 66. To Sir Henry Cary (on his capture of 1605 Oct.; unreleased 1606 June).
 1606. 67. To Thomas [Howard] Earl of Suffolk. Created 1603, July 21 (written after *Hymenæi*; at his daughter's marriage, I think).
 68. On Playwright; cf. 49, 100. The "private beatings" indicate Marston. See *Dr. Conv.* xi., "he beat Marston and took his pistol from him."

- 69. To Pertinax Cob.
- 70. To William Roe.
- 71. On Court Parrot.
- 72. To Courtling.
- 73. To Fine Grand.
- 74. To Thomas, Lord Chancellor Egerton. Appointed
1603, July 24.
- 75. On Lippe the Teacher (Paul's preacher against
plays).
- 76. On Lucy Countess of Bedford.
- 77. To one that desired me not to name him.
- 78. To Hornet.
- 79. To Elizabeth Countess of Rutland.
- 80. On Life and Death.
- 81. To Prowle the Plagiary.
- 82. On cashiered Captain Surly. 83. To a Friend.
- 84. To Lucy Countess of Bedford.
- 85, 86. To Sir Henry Goodyere.
- 87. On Captain Hazard, the cheater.
- 88. On English Monsieur.
- (?) c. 1597. 89. To Edward Allen (while acting).
- 90. On Mill, my Lady's Woman.
- 91. To Sir Horace Vere (Qy. at his marriage, 1607
Nov.).
- 1611, Mar. 25. 92. The New Cry (long after the
Powder Plot, 1605-6; refers, I think, to the peerage be-
stowed on Carr 1611, Mar. 25, "ripe statesmen at six-and-
twenty."
- 93. To Sir John Radcliffe.
- 94. To Lucy Countess of Bedford, with Donne's *Satires*
[in MS.].
- 1611, June 29. 95. To Sir Henry Savile. Knighted
1603, July 23; Baronet 1611, June 29.

96. To John Donne.
97. On the new motion. After "the Eltham thing," 1609.
- 98, 99. To Sir Thomas Roe. Knighted 1603, July 23
(Query after his voyage to the West Indies)
100. On Playwright; cf. 49, 68.
101. Inviting a friend to Supper.
102. To William Earl of Pembroke. Succeeded 1601.
c. 1610, Oct 3. 103, 105. To Mary Lady Wroth, *née*
Sidney; cf. Dedication of *The Alchemist*.
104. To Susan Countess of Montgomery; m. 1604,
Dec. 27.
106. To Sir Edward Herbert.
107. To Captain Hungry. 108. To true Soldiers.
1612. 109. To Sir Henry Nevil (of Billingbear). Was
refused Secretaryship in 1612.
- 1600-1609. 110, 111. To C. Edmonds on his *Cæsar*.
112. To a weak gamester in Poetry.
- 1608-1611. 113. To Sir Thomas Overbury. Knighted
1608, June 19; imprisoned 1611, April 23.
114. To Mrs. Philip Sidney.
115. On the Town's Honest Man.
116. To Sir William Jephson. Knighted 1603, April 22.
117. On Groyne. 118. On Gut.
- 1608-11. 119. To Sir Ralph Shelton. Knighted 1607,
Dec. 10; Lady Haddington called him a buffoon (Nichols,
iii. 177).
- c. 1602. 120. Epitaph on Salathiel Pavy, who acted
3 years and died at 13.
- 121, 122, 123. To Benjamin Rudyard.
124. Epitaph on Elizabeth L. H.
125. To Sir William Uvedale. Knighted 1605, April 9.
126. To his Lady, then Mrs. Cary.
- c. 1607. 127. To Esme Lord Aubigny.

128. To William Roe.

129. To Mime.

1609, Feb. 1. 130, 131. To A. Ferrabosco, on his Book.

1605. 132. To Mr. Joshua Silvester (on his *Dubartas*).

c. 1611, June. 133. On the Famous Voyage. (After Coryat's *Crudities*.) Probably the last poem in this series.

Two things are clear. The arrangement of the *Epigrams* is not chronological, although in the earlier part they look as if originally intended to be so; and there is no date in them that can be definitely assigned later than 1611.

The Forest.

c. 1611. 1. Why I write not of Love. "I grow old." *Ætat.* c. 39.

2. To Penshurst. King James and Prince Henry "hunting late this way;" therefore not later than 1612.

3. To Sir Robert Wroth. Lady Mary Wroth was a Sidney. R. Wroth's seat was at Durance, Middlesex.

4. To the World. A farewell [written] for a Gentlewoman.

Before 1605. 5, 6. To Celia from Catullus; cf. 9, Underwoods 25 (46).

7. Women are but Men's Shadows. Written for Lady Pembroke as a penance for maintaining her Lord's opinion against hers. *Dr. Conv.*, xiv.

8. To Sickness; cf. Und. 32 (53).

Before 1605. 9. To Celia from Philostratus; cf. 5, 6. Und. 25 (46).

1601. 10, 11. Præludium and Epode for Chester's *Love's Martyr*.

1604. 12. Epistle to Elizabeth Countess of Rutland,
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daughter of Sir Philip Sidney. The last notice I have found of her is in 1606, Jan. 6. She died before 1616 (Gifford). This Epistle notes the "better verser" of Lucy Countess of Bedford, viz., Daniel (*q.v.*), which fixes the date as shortly after *The Vision of the 12 Goddesses*, 1604, Jan. 8.

1607-8. 13. Epistle to Katherine Lady Aubigny, *née* Clifton. Married 1607. It appears this poem was written when she was pregnant of her first child.

Before 1612. 14. Ode to Sir William Sidney on his birthday. Died c. 1612.

15. To Heaven.

Here again no definite date appears later than 1611.

Entertainments.

29. *The passing to the Coronation* (previously published).

28. 1603, June 25. *At Althorpe*. L. Spencer's.

30. 1604, May 1. *At Highgate*. Sir W. Cornwallis'.

32. 1606, July 24. *At Theobald's*. To the Kings of Britain and Denmark. The Earl of Salisbury's.

33. 1607, May 22. *At Theobald's*, when the house was given up to the Queen.

Masks.

Those previously published.

38. 1610, June 4. *Prince Henry's barriers*.

39. 1611, Jan. 1. *Oberon*. Prince Henry's mask.

40. 1611, Jan. *Love freed*. Queen's mask.

Here ends Jonson's supervision of the Folio. The subsequent masks have no marginal notes, and are much more incorrectly given. There can be little doubt that the entry

S. R. 1612, May 15, marks the conclusion of Jonson's work, and that it would have been followed by a similar entry for the newly printed masks, and the whole book issued in 1613; but Prince Henry (to whom, I think, it was meant to be dedicated) died 1612, Nov. 6, and the publication was put off. When issued in 1616 the following masks were added:—

- 43. 1613, Xmas (?). *Love Restored* ;
- 41. 1613, Dec. 27. *Challenge at Tilt* ;
- 42. 1613, Dec. 29. *Irish Mask* ;
- 44. 1615, Jan. 1, 6. *Mercury Vindicated* ;
- 45. 1616, Jan. 1, 6. *The Golden Age Restored* ;

all of which belong to my second period of Jonson's work. The convenience of marking an epoch at the death of Prince Henry and the virtual end of the 1616 Folio will, I think, require no further demonstration. The separate title-pages give indication of change of copyright in 1616. *Every man out of his humour* was printed by W. Stansby for J. Smythwick, but *The Poetaster* for M. Lownes.

The "second volume" of the Folio, 1640, for R. Meighen contained three plays, each with a separate title-page "for R. Allott, 1631."

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|--|--|
| 21. <i>Bartholomew Fair</i> , | } all belonging to the second
period. And after these:— |
| 24. <i>The Staple of News</i> , | |
| 23. <i>The Devil is an ass</i> , | |
| 25. <i>The New Inn</i> (previously published). | |
| 26. <i>The Magnetic Lady</i> . | |
| 11, 27. <i>A Tale of a Tub</i> . | } All early work revised.
Printed "1640." |
| 22. <i>The Sad Shepherd</i> . | |
| 2. <i>The Fall of Mortimer</i> . | |

Masks. (Besides those previously published.)

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 46. <i>Christmas, his mask.</i> | } | All printed "1641," and
belonging to the second
period. |
| 47. <i>Vision of Delight.</i> | | |
| 49. <i>Pleasure Reconciled.</i> | | |
| 49. <i>For the Honor of Wales.</i> | | |
| 50. <i>World in the Moon.</i> | | |
| 53. <i>Augurs.</i> | | |
| 54. <i>Time Vindicated.</i> | | |
| 57. <i>Neptune's Triumph.</i> | | |
| 55. <i>Pan's anniversary.</i> | | |
| 58. <i>Owls.</i> | | |
| 56. <i>Fortunate Isles.</i> | | |
| <i>Expostulation with Inigo Jones.</i> | | } Printed 1641. Third
period. |
| 61. <i>Entertainment at Welbeck.</i> | | |
| 62. <i>Entertainment at Belsover.</i> | | |

Underwoods. (Jonson's own title, c. 1631.)

The Sinner's Sacrifice: three poems of Devotion, c. 1613 perhaps; cf. *Forest*, 15.

Charis: ten lyrics.

c. 1622-3. 1. His excuse for loving. Fifty years old.

c. 1608. 2-10. Written in reference to a mask in which Charis represented Venus riding in a chariot drawn by swans and doves (4), at a marriage, and leading the Graces in a dance at Whitehall, worthy to be envied of the Queen (6), in which Cupid had a part (2, 3, 5), at which Charis kissed him (6, 7), and afterwards kept up a close intimacy with him (8, 9, 10). The mask of 1608, Feb. 9, exactly fulfils these conditions, and the Venus of that mask was probably L. Elizabeth Hatton, the most beautiful of the then Court ladies. She had appeared in the mask of *Beauty* 1608, Jan. 10, but in no other year traceable by

me. From the *Elegy*, G. U. 36, manifestly written to the same lady (compare it with the lines in 5 as to "the bank of kisses" and "the bath of milk and roses"), we learn that Charis had "a husband that is the just excuse of all that can be done him." This was her second husband, Sir Edward Coke, to whom she was married in 1598. This identifies Charis with Mrs. Fitzdottrel in *The Devil is an ass*, where, ii. 2, the same words are used; the "milk and roses" lines, with the "bank of kisses," reappear, and two stanzas of the song in 5 are verbally repeated. In this play, Wittipol, "come home from travel," i. 2, is Jonson; he "saw her once before he went, but so as she hath stuck still in my view." This return was in 1614. In i. 2 Fitzdottrel (Cokes) scarce hath soul instead of salt to keep his flesh sweet. In *Bartholomew Fair*, iv. 1, the same words are applied to Cokes; but Cokes is not Sir E. Coke; he is a young unmarried man. Cokes is an esquire of Harrow, in Middlesex; Fitzdottrel of Norfolk. Sir E. Coke was a native of Norfolk, and had held office in Norwich.

In 1621, in *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*, Jonson transferred the "milk and roses" and "the bank of kisses" to Lady Purbeck, the daughter of Lady E. Hatton, with lines on "yourself the reason why wisest men for love may die;" c. 1622, in Charis 1, he says that was spoken of Charis, but this is a blind. Charis could not have been originally Lady Purbeck, who was too young, before Jonson's 1613 travels, to have appeared as a Venus Genetrix with her son Cupid in any mask. These lines had probably been so transferred at Lady Hatton's request. Jonson's enigmatic references had been too open. With the "emissary Eye" and "Secretary Sis" of 8 compare "emissary Court" in *The Staple of News* and "Secretary Sis" in *The New Inn*.

Miscellaneous Underwoods.

Before 1619. 1. The Musical Strife, alluded to in *Dr. Conv.*, 5.

2. Song.

3, 4. Of Womankind.

5. A Nymph's passion.

1619, Jan. 6. The Hour-glass, written for Drummond, *Conv.* 5.

1619, Jan. 24. 7. My Picture left in Scotland, "six-and-forty years" old. On L. Hatton.

8. Against Jealousy. 9. The Dream.

1619. 10. Epitaph on Vincent Corbet, died 1619. A gardener at Twickenham. His son, Bishop Corbet, was at Westminster School with Jonson.

[11-29 in Gifford are not in 1641 Folio. From this point I shall add Gifford's numbering in brackets for reference.]

Before 1624. 11 (30). Epistle to Sir E. Sackville, now Earl of Dorset. Succeeded 1624, Feb. 7. The "now" refers to the date at which these poems were published, 1641.

1614, July 14. 12 (31). Epistle to J. Selden, prefixed to *Titles of Honor*.

c. 1621. 13 (32). Epistle to Master Colby, to persuade him to the wars.

14 (33). Epitaph on Master Philip Gray.

15 (34). Epistle to a friend [a creditor].

16, 17 (35, 36). Elegies [Lady E. Hatton: Charis].

1623. 18, 19 (37, 38). Shrubs [by Donne, "almost at fifty." On the elopement of Lady Purbeck with Sir Robert Howard, I think].

20 (39). An Elegy [on Lady Covell: "Love is gone into your name"].

c. 1614. 21 (41). Ode to himself. "Worded balladry" (of Daniel, I think), mentioned.

1614. 22 (42). Frontispiece to a book. Raleigh's *History of the World*.

Before 1600. 23 (44). Ode to James Earl of Desmond.
24 (45). Ode. Restored 1600.

c. 1604. 25 (46). Ode. Refers to Celia, cf. *Forest*, 5, 6, 9; and to "the swan so relished Pancharis," cf. *Ode prefixed to Pancharis*, 1603. Aug. 1, iii. 529. This Pancharis was written by "a black swan," bred (not born) in the vale of Cluid, Flintshire; treats of the love between Owen Tudor and the Queen; was meant to be dedicated to Elizabeth, but when published was dedicated to James. I think this swan was Drayton. I know of no one else who wrote poems on Owen Tudor and Queen Katherine. See his *Heroical Epistles*. He also was parcel writer in a play on the same subject 1600 Jan., but not having seen *Pancharis*, I cannot speak positively.

c. 1604. 26 (47). Sonnet to Lady Mary Wroth; cf. *Epig.*, 103, 105; *For.*, 5, 6. Sir R. Wroth (often spelled Worth) was knighted 1603 June, and died 1614 Mar. Jonson speaks of his wife, *née* Sidney, daughter of Lord Lisle, as "unworthily thrown away on a jealous husband." He introduced her in *The May Lord* (*q.v.*), and dedicated *The Alchemist* to her 1610, Oct. 3, alluding to her as "worthy" of her name (Worth). The allusion to Jonson's having been "a lover" in this Sonnet, his exscribing the lady's MS. sonnets, the juxtaposition of the Celia and Wroth poems, with many other little indications too numerous to give here, induce me to think that Lady Mary was Celia, and that Jonson met her at Penshurst in 1604. Her husband may have been jealous of the translations from Catullus, &c., made for her, and interpreted them as expressions of Jonson's own feelings.

But certainly Jonson intended no unlawful suit in this instance.

c. 1604. 27 (48). A fit of Rhyme against Rhyme; probably suggested by Daniel's *Defense of Rhyme*, 1602.

c. 1608. 28 (49). On William, Lord High Treasurer. Presented to his son Robert, Earl of Salisbury, when he was Treasurer; *i.e.*, between 1608, May 6, and 1612, May 24, when he died. Cf. *Epig.* 63, 64.

N.B.—23–28 belong to the first period.

1617, Jan. 29 (50), 30 (51), 31 (52). To Thomas Lord Elsmere, the last term he sat Chancellor. "Written for a poor man," *i.e.*, 1617, Hilary Term, Jan. 11–31.

32 (53). To the smallpox.

33 (54). Epitaph.

34 (55). Song.

35 (56). Epistle to a Friend on receiving a book.

36–39 (57–60) are by Donne.

c. 1623. 40 (61). An Elegy. "Fat and old;" has been twenty years at Court; contains sketch of Pinacia Stufe, elaborated in *The New Inn* 1629.

1623, c. Oct. 41 (62). An Execration upon Vulcan. This contains allusions to Monday's translations of chivalrous romances. There is given a list of Jonson's works burned in the fire at his house, *viz.* :—

1. Part of a play [either *The May Lord*, which is most likely, or *The Fall of Mortimer*].

2. Horace' *Art of Poetry*. Not that we have, but one "in Dialogue ways," between Criticus (Donne) and himself. The extant version was done "20 years since;" *i.e.*, in 1598–9. The later lost one had a preface dating 1614, c. Christmas, with an apology for *Bartholomew Fair*, and was made ten years earlier, "anno 1604," at Lord Aubigny's.

There were an *Epigram* of Sir E. Herbert's before it (*Dr. Conv.*, 5, 16) and notes from Aristotle's *Poetics*.

3. *An English Grammar*, probably bearing a similar relation to that now extant.

4. *His journey into Scotland*, "sung." He had meant it at first to be in prose. "He is to write his foot Pilgrimage hither, and call it a *Discovery*," *Dr. Conv.*, 16; but "in a poem he calleth Edinburgh the heart of Scotland, Britain's other eye." Drummond was to send him "descriptions of Edinburgh, Borrow Lawes, of the Lomond," which he did before 1619, July 1, and after May 10.

5. *The Rape of Proserpine*, in three books.

6. *The History of Henry 5*, "eight of his nine year," with aid from Carew, Cotton, Selden.

7. "Twice twelve years stored up humanity
With humble gleanings in divinity
After the fathers and those wiser guides
Whom faction had not drawn to study sides."

I suspect that the MS. translation of Barclay's *Argennis*, S. R. 1623, Oct. 2, must also have been burned. Had it been printed, surely a copy would have survived, and other translations would not have appeared in 1625 and 1628. Other allusions are to Squire's *Triumphs of Peace*, 1620, Oct., "Squire of the squibs against the pageant-day;" to the fires at the Globe 1613, the Fortune 1621, Whitehall 1619, Jan. 12; the Six Clerks' Office, date unknown; also to iron-mills in Sussex, to Paul's steeple unrepaired, and to the wars in the Low Countries.

1624, Mar. 24. 42 (63). A Speech according to Horace. Written "these ten years day," after the revival of the artillery practice in 1614, Mar. The quotation

"To bring up the youth
Of London in the military truth,"

occurs also in *The Devil is an ass*, iii. 1 (1616). Dekker's *Artillery Garden* was published 1615. The allusion to the last King's day tilt is to that of 1624. Those of 1622 and 1623 had been put off and not performed. Hence the phrase, "we have powder still."

43 (64). Epistle to Arthur Squib, a clerk in the Exchequer.

1613, c. Oct. 44 (65). Epigram on Sir Edward Coke when Lord Chief-Justice. Created 1613, c. Oct. *Ætat.* 65.

1624, c. Sept. 45 (66). Epistle to one asking to be sealed of the tribe of Ben, written in James' reign (cf. "my Prince's safety"), before "the dispensation" was sent, 1625 Feb., and after "the late mystery of reception" of Mansfeld, 1624, April 16. Some one "that guides the motions and directs the bears" was admitted to make the shows, &c., in Jonson's place. The only mask not by Jonson traceable by me of this date was by "Young Maynard," at Burley on the Hill in August.

1623, c. July. 46 (67). Dedication of the King's new Cellar to Bacchus. Prince Charles was yet in Spain. On July 15 he wrote in good hope "to bring the Infanta along with us."

Before 1619. 47 (68). On the Court Pucell, "on Mrs. Boulstred, whose *Epitaph* [Elegy] Donne made;" moreover, "stolen out of his pocket by a gentleman who drank him drowsy and given Mrs. B., which brought him great displeasure," *Dr. Conv.*, 5, 18.

? 1603. 48 (69). Epigram to the Countess of [Rutland]; cf. *Dr. Conv.*, 9. She died 1612 Aug., and her husband 1612, June 26. Written during the Earl's travels, but not his early ones of 1595-8.

1621, Jan 22. 49 (70). On Lord Bacon's [sixtieth] birthday.

50 (71). The Poet to the Painter. Jonson to Sir W. Burlase.

All the rest of the *Underwoods* belong to the third period, after Jonson's palsy stroke. Those of the first period, before 1612, are Charis, 2-10; Misc., 23-28; 48.

c. 1627, Mar. 7. 51 (72). Epigrams to William Earl of Newcastle. Created Earl 1627, Mar. 7.

52 (73). Epistle to Arthur Squib. 54 (75). To Lady Lovell, on a wager.

1630 Dec. 53, 55 (74, 76). To John Burgess. Thanks for ink with appeal for pension, a year unpaid. "Christmas is near," and Jonson has to prepare sport for the Court, viz., *Callipolis* and *Chloridia*. The pension is the Charles one.

1631, Apr. 17. 56 (77). To my Bookseller [T. Alchorne, on *The New Inn*].

c. 1627, Mar. 7. 57 (89). To William Earl of Newcastle, on his *Fencing*.

1628. 58 (78). Epitaph on Henry Lord La Ware. Died 1628.

After 1626, Oct. 59 (79). Epigram to the Lord Keeper—*i.e.*, Williams—on his deprivation of the Keepership.

1629, c. Jan. 60 (80). To the King for £100 sent in my sickness, 1629.

1629, Mar. 18. 61 (81). To the King and Queen for the loss of their first-born, 1629; but the historians give 1627-8, Mar. 18.

1629, Nov. 19. 62 (82). To the King on his anniversary, 1629.

1630, May 29. 63 (83). On the Prince's birth, 1630. 64 (84). To the Queen, then lying-in, 1630.

1630, Nov. 16. 65 (85). On the Queen's Birthday, 1630.

1630, Dec. 25. 66 (86). To the Household, 1630. The tierce of sack, due under the pension of 1630, Mar.

26, not delivered. But was it due till a full year had expired?

1630-1. 67 (87). To a friend and son [Sir Lucius Cary].

1631, Jan. 68 (88). Pindaric Ode on the Friendship of Sir Lucius Cary and Sir Henry Morison, published 1640. Whether Morison's death dates 1628 or 1629 depends on the date we give to Jonson's letter quoted by Gifford, iii. 339. According to his general custom, "4th Feb. 1631" would mean our 1631, not 1631-2. But I believe this ode was not written till 1631, Jan., and that Jonson had not known Cary long, and Morison not at all. The arrangement of this part of the *Underwoods* seems to be chronological.

1631. 69 (90). To the High Treasurer, an Epistle Mendicant; *i.e.*, to Richard Lord Weston. Jonson "bedrid."

1632, Nov. 19. 70 (91). To the King on his Birthday, 19th Nov. 1632.

1633, Feb. 17. 71 (92). To Lord Weston on the day he was made Earl of Portland, 17th Feb. 1632. This was in the 8th of Charles I., and therefore in 1633.

1632-3. 72 (93). To Jerome Lord Weston on his return from his embassy, 1632. Probably 1632-3, like 71; but I do not know the exact date.

c. 1630. 73 (94). Epithalamion for "Mr. Jerome Weston, son and heir of the Lord Weston, Lord High Treasurer," and Lady Frances Stewart, daughter of Esme Duke of Lenox, deceased. As R. Weston is not called Earl of Portland, this must come before 71. The King "gave her." The procession extended "from Greenwich to Rowhampton Gate."

1630, c. Feb. 74 (95). Petition to King Charles; to change the pension of 100 marks granted by James to £100. Granted. The new pension began 1630, Mar. 26.

1633. 75 (96). To the Lord Treasurer. From the 1640 edition. Cf. Horace' *Odes*, iv. 8. "To the Earl of Portland," in Eliot's *Poems*; therefore in 1633. For the Detractor's lines herein see Gifford's note, and for Jonson's answer (from the 1640 edition), iii. 468. He had £40 for this Epigram.

c. 1633. 76 (97). To my Muse, Lady Digby, on her husband, Sir Kenelm Digby.

1635. 77a (98). A New Year's gift to King Charles, 1635. Query 1634-5 or 1635-6. Were these Jonson's last lines?

c. 1633. 77b (40). An elegy. Query to Lady Digby.

1633, Nov. 19. 78 (99). On the King's Birthday.

1633, Nov. 24. 79 (100). On the Christening of Prince James.

1631. 80 (101). On Lady Jane Pawlet, Marchioness of Winton [Winchester]. Died 1631.

1634. 81 (102). On Lady Venetia Digby. Ten pieces. Imperfect. For one missing bit see iii. 466, from *Notes and Queries*, 1st Ser., iii. 367. She died in 1633. Here end the *Underwoods*.

Leges Conviviales; in the Apollo of the Old Devil Tavern, Temple Bar; and verses over the room-door.

Translations:—Horace' *Art of Poetry*; the 1604 version, done at Lord Aubigny's. Horace' *Odes*, v. 2 (c. 1604, for Sir T. Wroth, I think), i. 4 (c. 1623, with *Charis*), ix. 3. Fragment of Petronius' Martial, viii. 77. Add to these Martial, x. 47 (from Collier's *Allegyn*, p. 52), iii. 388.

Timber, or *Discoveries*. Not those burned in the 1623 fire. These date 1623-35. See Swinburne's excellent essay on this work, which, fortunately for me, needs no further comment here.

The English Grammar. This also is not the one burned

in 1623. Whether an earlier draft or a later recast I know not.

The following pieces have been discovered since the 1641 Folio:—

1613, Mar. 24. At a Tilting in behalf of Sir Robert and Sir Henry Rich, U. (29), Nichols, ii. 610.

1613, Dec. 26. To Robert Earl of Somerset on his Wedding-day, iii. 465; from *Notes and Queries*, 1st Ser., v. 193.

1618, June 14. The Song in answer to Wither, iii. 465. The date is that of S. R. entry, 1621. Addition to Cock Lorel Song in *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*, iii. 528.

The following are from the Cavendish MS. in Brit. Mus.:—

1618. Charles Cavendish to his posterity. Died 1618, iii. 459.

1620, May. Interlude at the Christening of Charles, second son of William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, to whom the Prince was godfather, iii. 461; Nichols, iii. 607.

c. 1621. A Song of the Moon, iii. 465.

c. 1625. Song to the King, iii. 465.

1625. On Lady Jane Ogle, died 1625, Countess of Shrewsbury, iii. 460.

1629. On Lady Katherine Ogle, died 1629, wife of Sir Charles Cavendish. Three pieces, iii. 459.

1633. A fragment of Eupheme, iii. 466, is from *Notes and Queries*, 1st. Ser., iii. 567.

I now give an index of the poets, &c., who are mentioned in Jonson's works, and another of the "great ones" with whom his poems show that he was in intercourse. *Drummond's Conversations* with him should be carefully compared with these indexes, but need not be indexed here, as F. Cunningham has already performed that labour. E. in

these indexes means *Epigrams* ; F. *Forest* ; U. *Underwoods* ; C. V. *Complimentary Verses* ; Ded. *Dedication*. The numbers in parentheses in the *Underwoods* refer to Gifford's numbering.

POETS, &c.

Alchorne, Thomas, U. 56 (77).

Allen, Edward, E. 89.

Beaumont, Francis, E. 55, U. 13, C. V. letter, C. V. (*Fox*, *Epicene*, *Catiline*). †

Bolton, Edmund, C. V., *Fox*.

B., Ev., C. V. (*Sejanus*).

Breton, Nicholas, C. V., U. (23).

Brome, Richard, C. V., U. (28).

Browne, William, C. V., U. (18).

C. J., C. V. (*Fox*).

Camden, William, E. 14, Ded. (*Every man in his Humor*).

Carew, Thomas, Ode (*New Inn*).

Chapman, George, C. V., U. (20), C. V. (*Sejanus*, *Fox*).

Chester, Robert, F. 10, 11.

Cleveland, John, Ode (*New Inn*).

Corbet, Vincent, U. 10.

Coryat, Thomas, C. V.

Cygnus, C. V.

D. D., C. V. (*Fox*).

Donne, E. 23, 96, C. V. (*Fox*).

Dover, Robert, C. V.

Drayton, Michael, C. V., U. (16, 17).

Drummond, William, U. 5, 6 ; *Conv*.

Edmonds, Clement, E. 110, 111.

Farnaby, Giles, C. V.

Feltham, Owen, Ode (*New Inn*).

Ferrabosco, Alphonso, E. 130, 131.

- Field, Nathaniel, C. V. (*Catiline*).
 Filmer, Edward, C. V., U. (27).
 Fitzgeoffrey, Edward, C. V. (*Affaniæ*).
 Fletcher, John, C. V., U. (14), C. V. (*Fox*).
 Hannay, Patrick, C. V., U. (24).
 Herbert, Sir Edward, C. V. (*Horace*).
 Heyward, Edward, C. V. (*Folio*).
 Hodgson, William, C. V. (*Folio*).
 Holland, Philemon, C. V. (*Sejanus*).
 Holyday, Barton, C. V. (1640).
 Jones, Inigo (*Expostulation*).
 Lucy, George, C. V. (*Alchemist*).
 Marston, John [E. 49, 68, 100. "Playwright"], C. V. (*Sejanus*), Ded. (*Malcontent*).
 May, Thomas, C. V., U. (21).
 Monday, Antony [E. 29]
 Pavy, Salathiel, E. 120.
 Philos, C. V. (*Sejanus*).
 R. T., C. V. (*Sejanus, Fox*).
 Randolph, Thomas, Ode (*New Inn*).
 Rutter, Joseph, C. V., U. (22).
 S[cory], E[dward], C. V. (*Fox*).
 Selden, John, U. 12 (31).
 Shakespeare, William, C. V., U. (11, 12).
 Shirley, James, C. V. (*Alchemist*).
 Stansby, William, E. 3.
 Stephens, John, C. V., U. (19).
 Strachey, William, C. V. (*Sejanus*).
 Sylvester, Joshua, E. 132.
 Towneley, Zouch, C. V. 1640.
 Warre, Thomas, C. V., U. (26).
 Wither, George, Verses in answer to.
 Wright, Thomas, C. V., U. (25).

Daniel, Dekker, Monday, and others certainly satirised in Jonson's plays do not appear in this index.

"GREAT ONES," &c.

- Aubigny (Aulbany). See Clifton and Stewart.
 Bacon, Sir Francis, U. 49 (70).
 Bedford. See Harrington.
 Borlase, William, U. 50 (71).
 Boulstred, Mrs., U. 47 (68).
 Buckingham. See Villiers.
 Burgess, John, U. 53 (74).
 Burleigh. See Cecil.
 Carey, Henry, Lord Falkland, E. 66.
 Cary, Sir Lucius, U. 67 (87), 68 (88).
 Cary, Mrs., Uvedale's lady, E. 126.
 Carr, Robert, Earl of Somerset, Lines on marriage;
 Challenge at tilt.
 Cavendish, Charles, MS. Cav. See Ogle.
 Cavendish, William, Duke of Newcastle, U. 51 (72),
 57 (89), MS. Cav.
 Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury, E. 49, 63, 64.
 Cecil, William, Lord Burleigh, U. 28 (49).
 Celia, F. 5, 6, 9; U. 25 (46).
 Charis, Charis 1-10; U. 16, 17 (35, 36).
 Charles, King. See Stewart.
 Clinton, Katherine, Lady Aubigny, F. 13.
 Coke, Sir Edward, U. 44 (65).
 Colby, ———, U. 13 (32).
 Covell, Lady, U. 20 (39).
 Delaware. See West.
 Desmond, James, Earl of, U. 23 (44), 24 (45).
 Devereux, Robert, Earl of (*Hymenæi*).
 VOL. I. Y

- Digby, Sir Kenelm, U. 76 (97).
 Digby, Lady. See Stanley.
 Dorset. See Sackville.
 Egerton, Thomas, Lord Ellesmere, E. 74, U. 29 (50),
 30 (51), 31 (52).
 Essex. See Devereux.
 Falkland. See Carey.
 Goodyere, Sir Henry, E. 85, 86.
 Gray, Philip, U. 14 (33)
 Harrington, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, E. 76, 84, 94.
 H[atton], Elizabeth, E. 124.
 Henry, Prince. See Stewart.
 Henrietta, Queen. See Stewart, under Charles, King.
 Herbert, Sir Edward, E. 106.
 Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke, E. 102; Ded.
Catiline.
 Howard, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, E. 67.
 James, King. See Stewart.
 Jephson, William, E. 116.
 Keeper. See Williams.
 Lenox. See Stewart.
 Martin, Sir Richard, Ded. *Poetaster*.
 Monteagle. See Parker.
 Montgomery. See De Vere.
 Morison, Sir Henry, U. 68 (88).
 Nevile, Sir Henry, E. 109.
 Newcastle. See Cavendish.
 Ogle, Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury. Cav. MS.
 Ogle, Katherine, Lady Cavendish. Cav. MS.
 Overbury, Sir Thomas, E. 113.
 Paulet, Jane, Marchioness of Winchester, U. 80 (101).
 Parker, William, Lord Monteagle, E. 60.
 Pembroke. See Herbert and Talbot.

Portland. See West.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, U. 22 (42).

Radcliffe, Sir John, E. 93.

Ratcliffe, Margaret, E. 40.

Rich, Sir Robert and Sir Henry, U. (29).

Roe, Sir John, E. 27, 32, 33.

Roe, Sir Thomas, E. 98, 99.

Roe, William, E. 70, 128.

Rudyard, Benjamin, E. 121, 122, 123.

Rutland. See Sidney.

Sackville, Sir Edward, Earl of Dorset, U. 11 (30).

Salisbury. See Cecil.

Savile, Sir Henry, E. 95.

Shelton, Sir Ralph, E. 119.

Shrewsbury. See Ogle.

Sidney, Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, E. 79, F. 12, U.
48 (69).

Sidney, Mary, Lady Wroth, E. 103, 105; U. 26 (47).

Sidney, William, F. 14.

Sidney, Mrs. P. See Walsingham.

Somerset. See Carr.

Squib, Arthur, U. 43 (64), 52 (73).

Stanley, Venetia Anastasia, Lady Digby, U. 76 (97), 81
(102).

Stewart, Esme, Lord Aubigny, Duke of Lenox, E. 19,
Ded. *Sejanus*.

Stewart, Frances, Mrs. Weston, Lady Portland, U. 73
(94).

Stewart, Sir Francis, Ded. *Epicene*.

Stewart, King Charles (including the Queen and Prince),
U. 60-65 (80-85), 70 (91), 77-79 (98-100), 74 (95).

Stewart, King James, E. 4, 5, 35, 51.

Suffolk. See Howard.

- Talbot, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, Query U⁻(15).
 Uvedale, Sir William, E. 124. See also Cary, Mrs.
 Vere, Susan de, Countess of Montgomery, E. 104.
 Vere, Sir Horace, E. 91.
 Walsingham, Frances, wife of Sir Philip Sidney, E. 114.
 West, Henry, Lord Delaware, U. 58 (78).
 Weston, Jerome, U. 73 (94).
 Weston, Richard, Earl of Portland, U. 69 (90), 71 (92),
 72 (93).
 Williams, John, Bishop, Lord Keeper, U. 59 (79).
 Winchester. See Paulet.
 Wroth (Worth), Sir Robert, F. 3. See also Sidney, Mary.

LIFE.

"His grandfather came from Carlisle, and, he thought, from Annandale to it. He served King Henry VIII., and was a gentleman" [probably one of the Annandale Johnstones]. "His father lost all his estate under Queen Mary, having been cast in prison and forfeited. At last turned minister; so he was a minister's son. He himself was posthumous, born a month after his father's decease" (*Drum. Conv.*, 13). As he had "told 46 years" when he left Scotland 1619, Jan. 25, his birth must have been between 1572 Jan. and 1573 Jan.; probably in 1572. He was "brought up poorly, put to [Westminster] school by a friend; (his master Camden)." This does not necessarily mean that Camden was the "friend," but only that Camden was his master at Westminster. His mother had probably been married again to a master bricklayer, and lived in Hartshorn Lane (Northumberland Street), Charing Cross (Fuller), when he was a little child. G. Morley, Bishop of Winchester in 1662, "Lord Winton," says he was in the sixth class when removed

(*Letters of Eminent Persons*, 1813, iii. 416); and Fuller says he was statutably admitted into St. John's, Cambridge. This must have been after 1589 June, from which date till June 1602 there is no list of names in the University Register, and Jonson must have been seventeen or thereabouts. He was probably a sizar, and resided, I think, till the time for taking his B.A. 1589-1592, but took no degree then. "He was [in 1619] M.A. of both Universities by their favour, not his study" (*Drum. Conv.*, 13). These degrees were probably conferred c. 1605-6. Fuller, however, limits his University career to "a few weeks," and Jonson does not mention it at all. On the expiration of his sizarship, if my conjecture be right, earlier if Fuller be correct, he was "taken from it and put to another craft, which he could not endure." I think, adds Drummond, it "was to be a wright or bricklayer," which it undoubtedly was; and forthwith, in 1592, "he married a wife who was a shrew, yet honest." Their first child, 1593, Nov. 17, "*Sepulta fuit Maria Johnson peste*," at St. Martin's in the Fields. This was "Mary, the daughter of her parents' youth," who died "at six months' end," *Epigram* 22, when Jonson was twenty-one. This fixes the date of his marriage. He continued, I suppose, to work as a bricklayer till the birth of his eldest son in 1596, when, either from the death of his stepfather or the expiration of a five years' apprenticeship, he, being free, "went to the Low Countries; but returning soon, he betook himself to his wonted studies" [*i.e.*, to playmaking and poetry, his "wonted studies" at the time of his saying this in 1619]. "In his service in the Low Countries he had, in the face of both the camps, killed an enemy and taken *opima spolia* from him." The common opinion would place this campaign of Jonson's in c. 1591, but it fits in much better in 1596 in many ways. Jonson next appears in Henslow's *Diary*, p. 255, as

borrowing £4 of Henslow, 1597, July 28; and on the same date, p. 80, Henslow receives 3s. 9d. "of Benjamin Johnson's share." This can hardly have been a share in the Rose; much more likely in Paris Garden, where Jonson played Zulziman (*Satiromastix*, Sc. 7), having obtained employment as an actor by his performance of Jeronymo on a play-waggon in the highway (*ibid.*). Henslow had purchased Paris Garden 1595, Nov. 28. But from 1597, Dec. 3, to 1598, Aug. 18, Jonson was writing plays for the Rose. He was in needy circumstances, for on 5th Jan. 1598 he borrowed 5s. (*Diary*, p. 256); but had at once acquired reputation, for in 1598 he is mentioned by Meres as one of "our best in Tragedy." In September he had to leave this company. On the 26th Henslow wrote to Allen, "I have lost one of my company that hurteth me greatly; that is, Gabriel [Spencer], for he is slain in Hogsden fields by the hands of Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer" (Collier's *Alleyne*, p. 50). Surely Jonson could not at this time have ceased bricklaying for seven years or more. His own account is: "Since his coming to England, being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversary, which had hurt him in the arm, and whose sword was 10 inches longer than his, for the which he was imprisoned and almost at the gallows. . . . His judges could get nothing of him to all their demands but Ay and No. They placed two damned villains to catch advantage of him with him, but he was advertised by his keeper." Compare *Epigram* 59. The duel was on Sept. 22, Jonson's arraignment at the Old Bailey in Oct. Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson discovered the original indictment, which I give here from *The Athenæum*, 1886, Mar. 6. In a subsequent number, Mar. 27, it is shown that Spencer had, 1596, Dec. 3, killed one Feeke in a squabble; but the document is not worth reproducing, nor should I have noted it here except to vindicate

Porter, who is right in his brands, T (the Tyburn T) and F (for *furtum*, not felony), in his *Two Angry Women of Abington*.

Cogn' Indictament petit librum legit et Cl'icus sign' cum l'r'a T Et delr juxta formam statut', &c.

Middss:—Juratores pro D'na Regina p'ntant q^d Benjaminus Johnson nup' de London yoman vicesimo secundo die Septembris Anno regni d'n'e n'r'e Elizabethe Dei gra' Anglie Franc' et Hib'nie Regine fidei defensor', &c., quadragesimo vi & armis, &c. In et sup' quendam Gabrielem Spencer in pace Dei & d'c'e d'n'e Regine apud Shordiche in Com' Midd' pred' in Campis ib'm existen insultu' fecit Et eund'm Gabrielem cum quodam gladio de ferro et calibe vocat' a Rapiour precii iiii. quem in manu sua dextra adtunc & ibi'm h'uit et tenuit extract' felonice ac voluntar' percussit & pupugit Dans eidem Gabrieli Spencer adtunc & ib'm cu' gladio pred' in et sup' dextern' latus ip'ius Gabrielis unam plagam mortalem p'funditat' sex pollic' & latitud' unius pollicis de qua quidem plaga mortali id'm Gabriel Spencer apud Shordiche pred' in pred'c'o Com' Midd' in Campis pred'c'is adtunc & ib'm instant' obiit Et sic Jur' pred'c'i dicunt sup' Saer'm suu' q^d p'fat' Benjaminus Johnson pred'c'm Gabrielem Spencer apud Shorediche pred' in pred'c'o Com' Midd' & in Campis predic'is [die & anno] predic'is felonice et voluntar' interfecit & occidit contra pacem D'c'e D'n'e Regine, &c.

In English thus:—

He confesses the indictment, asks for the book, reads like a clerk, is marked with the letter T, and is delivered according to the statute, &c.

Middlesex:—The jurors for the Lady the Queen present, that Benjamin Johnson, late of London, yeoman, on the 22nd day of September, in the fortieth year of the reign of our Lady Elizabeth by God's grace Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., with force and arms, &c., made an attack against and upon a certain Gabriel Spencer, being in God's and the said Lady the Queen's peace, at Shordiche in the aforesaid county of Middlesex, in the Fields there, and with a certain sword of iron

and steel called a Rapiour, of the price of three shillings, which he then and there had and held drawn in his right hand, feloniously and wilfully beat and struck the same Gabriel, giving then and there to the same Gabriel Spencer with the aforesaid sword a mortal wound of the depth of six inches and of the breadth of one inch, in and upon the right side of the same Gabriel, of which mortal blow the same Gabriel Spencer at Shordiche, aforesaid, in the aforesaid county, in the aforesaid Fields, then and there died instantly. And thus the aforesaid jurors say upon their oath, that the aforesaid Benjamin Johnson, at Shorediche aforesaid, in the aforesaid county of Middlesex, and in the aforesaid Fields, in the year and day aforesaid, feloniously and wilfully killed and slew the aforesaid Gabriel Spencer, against the peace of the said Lady the Queen, &c.

“On being thus convicted of felony on his own confession, he forfeited his goods and chattels. On leaving prison with the brand on the brawn of his left thumb, he returned to the world without a shilling” (Jeaffreson). “Then took he his religion by trust of a priest who visited him in prison. Thereafter he was 12 years a Papist,” *i.e.*, 1598–1610 (*Drum. Conv.*, 13). After his release he wrote *The Case is altered* (*q.v.*, *infra*) for the Chapel boys, and before the end of 1598 *Every man in his Humour* for the Chamberlain’s men, then acting at the Curtain. Aubrey and Wood are, therefore, right in saying that he acted at the Curtain. On their removal to the Globe in 1599 he wrote for them *Every man out of his Humour* (*q.v.*), but returned to the Admiral’s men immediately after, where we shall find him Aug.–Sept. In 1600 he first appears as a writer of Complimentary Verses. in 1600–1601 he wrote comical Satires for the Chapel boys against Marston, Dekker, &c., for the last of which he was accused of satirising the lawyers, &c., before Popham, the Chief-Justice; but before the end of the year we find him contributing alongside of his friend Chapman, as well as Marston and Shakespeare, who had

opposed him, in Chester's *Love's Martyr*. That Shakespeare had been one of his opponents in the stage war is known from *The Return to Parnassus*, 1602, where Kempe mentions the purge that "our fellow Shakespeare" gave him after the pill Horace gave the poets in *The Poetaster*, and therefore in 1601. Nevertheless his reconciliation with Shakespeare did not lead him at once to the Chamberlain's men. He again joined the Admiral's, now acting at the Fortune, and wrote for them from 1601, Sept. 25, to 1602, June 24. Early in 1602 he left his wife. "Ben Johnson, the poet, now lives on one Townsend, and scorns the world" (Collier, *Annals*, i. 334). See *infra*, under 1607.

On the King's accession, however, a great change took place in Jonson's fortunes. He was appointed to write the *Entertainment to the Queen and Prince at Lord Spencer's*, 1603, June 25, and was thenceforth chief mask and entertainment provider to the Court. At first Daniel, who "was at jealousies with him," *Drum. Conv.* 11 (for masks), and Dekker, with whom he had to share the *King's Entertainment* 1604, Mar. 15 (for pageants), seemed likely to be rivals; but this did not last. Campion and Beaumont at Court, Middleton and Marston for the Inns of Court, occasionally appear, but Jonson was the one paramount mask-writer till the end of the reign of James.

"When the King came in England at that time the pest was in London [1603, c. July 25, coronation], he being in the country at Sir Robert Cotton's house with old Camden, he saw in a vision his eldest son, then a child and at London; . . . and in the morning he came to Mr. Camden's chamber to tell him. . . . In the meantime comes there letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the plague" (*Drum. Conv.*, 13). From *Epigram* 45 it appears that this boy was named Benjamin, "the son of my right hand," and

that he was seven years old, which fixes the date of his birth. We shall find another Benjamin later on; but I may note here that the Benjamin Jonson baptized at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, 1608, Feb. 20, and buried 1611, Nov. 18, was certainly not a legitimate son of the poet. He probably was the son of another Benjamin Johnson (the name was not uncommon). Neither were the Joseph buried at St. Giles', Cripplegate,¹ 1599, Dec. 9, nor the Benjamin buried at St. Botolph's, Bishopgate, our Jonson's legitimate children. His church was St. Martin's in the Fields. In 1604 he was living with Lord Aubigny, and writing his translation of Horace' *Ars Poetica*, which he intended to publish with notes from Aristotle. See his Address before *Sejanus*, 1605, which play was dedicated to Aubigny.

In 1603 he had left the Admiral's men for the King's, for whom he, aided by a second hand [Chapman], wrote *Sejanus*. In 1604, just before Christmas, he joined Chapman and Marston in writing *Eastward Ho* for the Queen's Revels boys, formerly the Chapel children. This continual change of company is peculiar to Jonson. I have not met with its parallel in any life in the present book. "He was delated by Sir James Murray to the King for writing something against the Scots in a play, *Eastward Ho*, and voluntarily imprisoned himself with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them. The report was, that they should then had their ears cut and noses. After their delivery he banqueted all his friends; there was Camden, Selden, and others. At the midst of the feast his old mother drank to him, and shewed him a paper which she had (if the sentence [they were sentenced, then] had

¹ The Benjamin Johnson married to Hester Hopkins 1623, July 27, at this church was, I think, illegitimate, and born c. 1602. If legitimate, not born till 1603, at earliest. He was no doubt the part author of *A Fault in Friendship*.

taken execution) to have mixt in the prison among his drink, which was full of lusty strong poison, and, that she was no churle, she told she minded first to have drunk of it herself" (*Drum. Conv.*, 13). The reason for the sentence not being executed is not far to seek. Jonson was wanted for the Queen's mask (*Blackness*) performed 1605, Jan. 6. But he was not long out of difficulty. "Northampton was his mortal enemy for beating on a St. George's Day one of his attenders. He was called before the Council for his *Sejanus*, and accused both of Popery and Treason by him." This St. George's Day was indubitably 1605, April 23. After May 4, the date of the creation of the Earl of Salisbury, Jonson and Chapman were in "a vile prison" on account of "a play." Jonson writes to the "Earl of Salisbury" asking him and the Lord Chamberlain (the Earl of Suffolk) to procure them an immediate trial. He alludes to his "first error," for which he had been in "bondage" (in *Eastward Ho*). He has in his works "given no cause to any good man of grief;" he desires to be judged by his "works past and this present," appeals to his "books" (note that *Eastward Ho* was not published till Sept., and that *Sejanus*, entered for Blount 1604 Nov., had probably been stayed in the press, for it came out in 1605 "for Thorpe," and *Eastward Ho* "for Aspley," both of whom were Chapman's, not Jonson's, then usual publishers) as to his giving no offence to nation, state, or person. This pleading is ingenious; but, in fact, the only play written by Jonson since his imprisonment for his "first error" was *Volpone*, for which see below, and none whatever had been published. That Chapman and Jonson were released through the influence of Suffolk is clear from the verses prefixed by Chapman to *Sejanus* in the 1605 edition, in which he mentions the wall he importuned about the sacred river of the Muses' waters when the herd came, not

to drink, but trouble them. This cannot apply to *Eastward Ho*, which could not be termed a "sacred river." This passage was suppressed in the 1616 Folio and in Gifford's edition, which misled me in 1877 to wrongly interpret the whole matter, I then not having access to Chapman's verses in their complete form. I have even now some doubt as to whether Jonson's "first error" refers to *Eastward Ho* or to *The Poetaster*. Jonson mentions "my shame," and would he feel shame for *Eastward Ho*? On 1606, Jan. 6. Jonson's *Mask for the Marriage of the Earl of Essex* was performed at Court; and shortly afterwards, probably Feb. 2, *Volpone*, which had been acted at the Globe in the previous year. That this play gave offence is clear from the additions to *Mucedorus* (*q.v.*), presented on Mar. 2, and this, doubtless, was the reason of his again leaving the King's company. It is noteworthy that Shakespeare did not act in this play; his natural tact probably foresaw the trouble to come. Jonson did not, however, lose the Earl of Salisbury's favour. He was employed 1606, July 24, to entertain the Kings of England and Denmark at Theobald's, and again in 1607, May 22, at the delivery of that house to the Queen. Meantime he had returned to his wife, whom he had left in Feb. 1602. "Five years he had not bedded with her, but had remained with my Lord Aubany" (*Drum. Conv.*, 13); but 1607, Feb. 11, he dates his Dedication to *Volpone* "from my house in the Blackfriars." Aubigny was married in 1607, and Jonson's residence with him was no longer desirable. On leaving the King's men in 1606, Jonson, as usual, betook himself to the Queen's Revels children, to whom he, probably in 1608, introduced Beaumont and Fletcher, whose acquaintance he had made not very long before. These children got into trouble again about Chapman's *Byron* in 1608; for Jonson's share in which

matter, according to my hypothesis, see under that play. He wrote *Epicene* also for them in 1609. Returning to Court matters; Jonson's offence in *Volpone* was marked by Campion's employment for the 1607 mask; but in 1608 he was again chosen for the annual presentment, and continued to be so in the following years. Clearly no one could be found to replace him. In 1610 Jonson recanted his popery, and in the latter end of the same year left the Queen's Revels boys, and with Beaumont and Fletcher once more joined the King's men, now in possession of Blackfriars as well as the Globe, but weakened by the retirement of Shakespeare. He wrote for them *The Alchemist* 1610, *Catiline* 1611. It would involve too much repetition to enumerate all the masks of Jonson here; they will be treated in chronological order further on. But I must note here that *Love Freed* &c., 1611 Jan., was Jonson's last mask for Queen Anne, and was also the last mask in which Inigo Jones co-operated until 1623, Jan. 19. At this point also ends the portion of the 1616 Folio supervised by Jonson, who appears to have been chiefly engaged in preparing that volume for the press all through 1612 till the death of Prince Henry, Nov. 6, for whom he had produced so many masks. The entry S. R. for *The Epigrams*, i.e., the part to be newly published, dates May 6. I would therefore mark here a distinct break in Jonson's career, and the commencement of a new period. I should have liked to mark a previous break at the accession of James, but the want of chronological arrangement in the minor poems would make this practically inconvenient.

"Sir W. Raleigh sent him governor with his son, anno 1613, to France. This youth being knavishly inclined . . . caused him to be drunken," &c. This young Walter was born 1595, matriculated at Corpus 1607, and was as "knavish" at Oxford as in France. Jonson had taken no

part in the festivities at the Lady Elizabeth's marriage, 1613 Feb, but did so in that of Carr, Earl of Somerset, 1613 Dec.; and in 1614, Oct. 31, we find him, not with the King's men, but with the Lady Elizabeth's, then acting at the Hope (Paris Garden) with Fletcher, Field, and Massinger. The play there produced, *Bartholomew Fair*, was acted at Court next day. The Overbury trial was in April 1615, and I think *The May Lord* must have been written in 1614. See further on, under *The Sad Shepherd*. On 1st Feb. 1616 James granted him a pension of 100 marks by letters patent (as poet laureate).¹ In 1616 Jonson, still accompanied by Fletcher, Field, and Massinger, had rejoined the King's men (after the death of Henslow, 1616 Jan.), who acted *The Devil's an ass*. No further acknowledged play of Jonson's is met with till *The Staple of News*, but he could hardly have been entirely unconnected with the stage for nine years. For various conjectures of mine regarding this interval I refer the reader to *The Widow*, *The Spanish Curate*, *The City Madam*, and *Julius Cæsar*. In 1618, c. June, Jonson travelled on foot to Scotland. He there met Taylor, the water poet, whose *Penniless Pilgrimage* was entered S. R. 1618, Nov. 2, at Master John Stuart's house at Leith; visited Drummond at Hawthornden before 1619, Jan. 17; and finally left Leith for England Jan. 25. He was in London May 10, when he wrote to Drummond that he was preparing a poem "against the Queen's funeral," which is not extant. From this letter we learn that he had met in Scotland Fentons, Nisbets, Scots, Livingstons, and Mr. James Weith. Drummond answered him July 1. He was

¹ Selden, in his *Titles of Honor*, 1614, July 14, for which Jonson wrote Complimentary Verses in Part ii. chap. 43, treats "on the custom of giving crowns of laurel to poets." He thus "performed a promise" to his "beloved Ben Jonson;" and adds, "your singular excellency in the art most eminently deserves it."

well received by the King on his return, and the mask of 1619 had been so poor as to make his absence regretted. Drummond's report of his conversations with him, drawn up while the memory of him was quite fresh, and dated Jan. 19, are simply invaluable to the student of Jonson, and should always be at hand. Gifford's dishonest representations of them are a disgrace to our literature. On 19th July 1619 Jonson was "actually" (in person, I suppose) created M.A. at Oxford in full convocation (Antony Wood), but he was M.A. of both Universities before he met Drummond. I suppose these degrees had been conferred on him, but not with admission, when *Volpone* was acted at Oxford and Cambridge in 1606. On 1621, Oct. 15, the reversion of the office of the Master of the Revels, on the decease of Sir George Buck and Sir John Astley, was granted to Jonson; but Astley outlived him. In the mask of *Time Vindicated*, 1623, Jan. 19, Jonson and Inigo Jones again began to work together. It should be noted that this was a mask of Prince Charles'. Before 1619 "he said to Prince Charles that when he wanted words to express the greatest villain in the world he would call him an Inigo" (*Drum. Conv.*, 17). This is probably a poor pun on the Italian Iniquo. But again, "Jones having accused him for naming him behind his back a fool, he denied it; but, says he, I said he was an arrant knave, and I avouch it." The Prince had probably patched up the quarrel, which lasted from 1612 to 1622, but any real cordiality between Jonson and Jones was impossible. In 1623, c. Oct., the fire happened which destroyed so many of Jonson's MSS. (see supra *The Execration upon Vulcan*), and it is possible that the appearance of snatches of Jonson's work in plays dating just after may be due to the handing over to Fletcher, Middleton, &c., the fragments of plays saved from the conflagration. Then, in

1625, came the death of the King, and early in 1626 the paralytic attack which left only a wreck of the old Jonson. He had in 1625 produced his last great play, *The Staple of News*, and this ends his Second (or, as I should prefer to call it, his Third) period.

It appears from a letter of Jonson's to the Earl of Newcastle, 1631-2, that he had a second paralytic stroke [early] in 1628. There is nothing of his that can be positively assigned to this interval of sickness, 1626-8. The verses to such lengthy works as Drayton's *Poems* and May's *Lucan*, published 1627, were probably written years before they were sent to press, say in 1625, and Morton's *English Canaan* was printed in Amsterdam. But in 1628, Sept. 2, he must have recovered, for he was then admitted City Chronologer in place of T. Middleton, deceased, with a salary of 100 nobles per annum. He did not, however, write any pageants; Dekker did that in 1628 and 1629, as he had done in 1627. On 1629, Jan. 19 [not 1630, as Gifford says], he had returned to writing for the stage, for *The New Inn* was performed by the King's men, and unequivocally damned. He wrote an *Ode to himself* on the occasion, in which the "mouldy" Pericles and "Broome's sweepings" (undoubtedly the original reading, but altered to "there, sweepings" in the published edition) are mentioned. He was jealous of his dead master, Shakespeare, and his living faithful servant, Brome. Answers to this ode by Feltham (antagonistic, calling him "a Translator" and satirising his "nominal" jests), and by Carew, Cleveland, and Randolph (all friendly, and the last named with a clear allusion to "Brome's sweepings," as in the 1640 edition), appeared forthwith. In the Epilogue Jonson had said, "Had he lived the care of King and Queen." This also had an immediate answer; the King sent him £100

"in his sickness, 1629." See U. 60 (80). Jonson, Mar. 18, replied by an *Epigram* on the loss of the royal first-born, and wrote verses on the King's birthday, Nov. 19, U. 62 (82). On 1629, Aug. 13, he was granted the reversion of the Mastership of the Revels. About Christmas he sent a humble petition for the commuting the pension of 100 marks granted by James for another of £100, U. 74 (95). This also he obtained. The patent with the additional grant annually of "a tierce of Spanish wine" was issued 1630, Mar. 26, and laureate verses followed on the birth of Charles, May 29, U. 63 (83), 64 (84), and the Queen's birthday, Nov. 16, U. 65 (85). Just before Christmas, U. 55 (76), he writes to John Burgess complaining that Sir R. Pie would not "take apprehension of a year's pension," *i.e.*, would not pay him for a year, seeing that the pension had only been running nine months, and was not due till Christmas Day. The first payment was stipulated in the patent to be at Lady Day 1630. It is clear from the verses that Christmas had not yet come, and the reference to the forthcoming gambols at the Court fixes the year to 1630. Jonson wrote no mask after *The Fortunate Isles* till *Love's Triumph*, 1631, Jan. 6. Misled by the absurd punctuation in these verses and Gifford's positive assertions, I formerly assigned this mask to 1630, but wrongly. Compare U. 66 (86), *To the Household*, where the non-payment of sack, evidently referring to the same occasion, and expressly dated 1630, is the subject of the *Epigram*. It appears from U. 53 (74) that Jonson got the wine. Gifford strangely misread these lines. In 1631, Jan. 6 and Shrovetide, Jonson's last Court masks were presented, and immediately published, 1630[-1], as by "the inventors, Ben Jonson; Inigo Jones." This made Jones angry; his name ought, he thought, to

have come first, as it had done in *Pan's Anniversary*, for instance. Then Jonson wrote his *Expostulation*, in which he calls him Justice Jones, Ass-Inigo, tireman, mountebank, Dominus Do-all, maker of properties; sneers at his velvet suit, carpentry "Design," lantern-lerry; suggests he should present puppet plays, and that it was "Good Queen Anne" who made him what he is. He also wrote an *Epigram* and a *Corollary*, in which he terms him Marquis Would-be, Pancridge Earl, &c. The result of all this was that Townsend, Montague, Carew, Davenant, wrote the Court masks in future, and Jonson was discarded. In 1631, April 17, Jonson published *The New Inn* (*q.v.*), and wrote an *Epistle mendicant* to L. Weston, High Treasurer, U. 69 (90). He also began to publish the second volume of his works. In an undated and hitherto misunderstood letter to the Earl of Newcastle, Harl. MS. 4955, he says (I have corrected the punctuation), "It is the lewd printer's [J. Benson's] fault that I can send your lordship no more of my book. I sent you one piece before, *The Fair* [*Bartholomew Fair*]; and now I send you this other morsel, The fine gentleman that walks the town, *The Fiend* [*The Devil is an Ass*]; but before he will perfect the rest I fear he will come himself to be a part under the title of The Absolute Knave, which he hath played with me." The only other play which Benson printed for Jonson was *The Staple of News*, and this letter must lie between his printing that and the preceding one, *The Devil's an Ass*. On 10th Nov. 1631 (Whitmore, for whom Heywood had written the pageant, being Mayor) an order was made that no more wages be paid to Jonson as City Chronologer until he present some fruit of his labours: a very reasonable arrangement. Jonson wrote indignantly to the Earl of Newcastle about this withdrawal of "their Chandlerly pension." In 1632, Feb. 4, he wrote again to

him with "a packet of mine own praises" (verses by Falkland, N. Oldisworth, and R. Goodwin), which the Earl had asked for. On Mar. 24 his verses to Brome show that he had become reconciled to his succeeding him as playmaker for the King's men. On Oct. 12 *The Magnetic Lady* was licensed. See *infra*. On Nov. 19 he wrote laureate verses for the King. In 1633, early, he wrote to the Earl of Newcastle an undated letter begging succour for "this good time of Easter." The Earl sent him "a timely gratuity" by Master Payne, and a commission (if Gifford be right) for the King's *Entertainment at Welbeck* in May. This Jonson wrote and sent with a letter, extant, but not dated, thanking the Earl. I ought, however, to say that it is possible that this group of letters may refer, and I think does refer, to the *Entertainment at Bolsover*, 1634 July, Jonson's last production of that kind. *The Tale of a Tub* was licensed 1633, May 7; but Vitruvius Hoop's part was struck out, and the motion of the tub, by command of the Lord Chamberlain, exception being taken to it by Inigo Jones. See *infra*. On Nov. 19, U. 78 (99), and Nov. 24, U. 79 (100), the customary laureate verses were written. *The Tale of a Tub* was acted at Court 1634, Jan. 14, and coldly received. No play of Jonson's appears at Court after this. For his verses to the Earl of Portland and Lady Venetia Digby at this time, as indeed for many others of earlier date to "great ones," it must suffice here to refer to the list of his poems already given. I am now writing a history of the Drama, not a biography of Jonson, and must confine myself to matters which bear on my main subject, directly or indirectly. I may say, however, that a reading of all his work, down to the very smallest item, in strictly chronological order, will be found to throw much additional light on his private life. In 1634, July 30, Jonson's last *Enter-*

tainment was presented. On Sept. 18 (Moulson being Mayor) the City Court ordered (the Earl of Dorset having signified His Majesty's pleasure thereon) that the Chronologer's pension should be continued and the arrears paid. On 1635, Jan. 1, Jonson wrote his last laureate verses; nor can I assign a certain later date to anything by him. The verses to Rutter, published Jan. 19, and to Dover, 1636, were probably written in 1635 at latest. On 1635, Nov. 20, his son Benjamin died; and from then to his own death, 1637, Aug. 6, I can trace no particular information whatever. He was well provided for; with an income of £133, 6s. 8d. (some 600 guineas would be the present equivalent), he need not have been so often applying to his friends. He was buried Aug. 9, in Westminster Abbey.

PLAYS.

1. *Wily Beguiled*. See Peele, 17.
2. 1597, Dec. 3, Jonson obtained 20s. of Henslow on "a book which he showed the plot to the company," and promised to deliver at Christmas next. He evidently delivered, not the play, but the plot only; and, 1598, Oct. 28, Chapman had written "2 acts of a tragedy of Benjamin's plot." 1599, Jan. 4, Chapman was paid for "3 acts of a tragedy;" and, Jan. 8, in full for "his tragedy." All this, I believe, refers to *The Fall of Mortimer*, of which the plot, *Dram. Pers.*, and a bit of i. 1 are extant; for, 1602, Sept. 10, the "play of *Mortimer*" is mentioned by Henslow. The only doubtful point is that Malone does not note this entry. Mr. Warner, however, does not note it as one of the forgeries in the *Diary*. The Chorus was to be 1, of ladies; 2, of courtiers; 3, of justices; 4, of knights; 5, of esquires. So far from being "the last

draught of Jonson's quill," as Gifford calls it, it was probably the very first production of his, without coadjutor, that has come down to us. See further under Chapman.

3. *Hot anger soon cold* (with Chettle and Porter), 1598, Aug. 19, for the Admiral's men at the Rose.

4. *The Case is altered*, C., was acted by the Chapel children before Nash's *Lenten Stuff* was published, S. R. 1599, Jan. 11, which mentions it; "the merry cobbler's cut in the witty play of *The Case is altered*." Antonio Balladino is, of course, Antony Monday. In i. 1, his *Paradoxes* (1593), allegories, pageants (he is "pageant poet to the city when a worse cannot be had"), plain writing with old decorum (compare "old England's mother's words," *Histrionomastix*, ii. 1), objection to new tricks and humours (compare "no new luxury or blandishment," *Ibid.*, ii. 1), refusal to raise his vein even for £20 a play, are all mentioned. His being "already in print for the best plotter" gives an anterior limit of date, as Meres' *Wit's Treasury*, which so mentions him, was entered S. R. 1598, Sept. 7. The play dates, then, c. Dec. It was never acknowledged by Jonson, but was published in 1609 without his supervision. It was entered S. R. Jan. 26 for Bonion and Walley, his then publishers, but issued by Sutton (who had joined them in the copyright, S. R., July 20) as *The Case is altered*; but in some copies the title is *Ben Jonson, his Case is altered*. Jonson's name was, I think, inserted in later copies, not withdrawn from earlier ones, for *The Case*, &c., agrees with the S. R. entry, and is, therefore, likely to be that of original issue. In i. 3, "had I Fortunatus' hat here" probably refers to Dekker's *Fortunatus*, acted at the Rose 1599, Dec. I have no doubt that Juniper, Onion, &c., are, like Antonio, personal caricatures, and will at some time be identified by their language.

Compare Clove and Onion in *Every man out of his Humour*. Their peculiar words are like those of several characters in Chapman's earlier plays.

5. *Every man in his Humour*, C., was "first acted [at the Curtain] in 1598 by the Lord Chamberlain's servants," 1616 Folio. The Globe was not then built. It was published S. R. 1600, Aug. 14, without Jonson's supervision, no doubt by the company, "as acted by" them, after an ineffectual effort had been made to "stay" it on Aug. 4, by Jonson, I suppose. But it was acted also by another company [the Chapel children] in a greatly altered form (viz., that in which it was published in the 1616 Folio) in the reign of Elizabeth; for "the queen" and "her majesty," iv. 9, v. 1, iv. 5, would have been altered in so careful a recasting had it been made in the time of James. Yet, on the assumption that Bobadil is a historical authority, and rightly dates the taking of Strigonium in iii. 1, an attempt has been made to assign this alteration to 1607 by Dr. B. Nicholson. It is a pity that he did not confirm this learned conjecture by ascertaining also the date of the "taking in of what you call it;" but I think, notwithstanding this, we may take Bobadil's assertion that tomorrow is St. Mark's Day, April 25, as accurate; and as it appears from iii. 2 that this was spoken on a Friday, this fixes the date of the revised play to 1601 April. With this the Prologue agrees, for it distinctly alludes in no friendly way to "the chorus that wafts you o'er the seas" in Shakespeare's *Henry 5*, produced 1599, and on the stage till 1602, and to the "long jars" in York and Lancaster, *i.e.*, the revised 2, 3 *Henry 6*. In the revised play, which was, in my opinion, produced as a protest against publication against the author's wish, the names of the characters were anglicised thus: Lorenzo (Knowell),

Prospero (Wellborn), Thorello (Kitley), Musco (Brainworm), Peto (Formal), Pizo (Cash), Juliano (Downright), Blancha (Mrs. Kitley), Hesperida (Bridget). In iv. 1 Matthew steals his rhymes from the dead Marlow's *Hero and Leander*, and in v. 1, from the living Daniel's *Sonnets*, "with a miraculous gift to make it absurder than it was." This is the first outbreak against Daniel that I have traced in Jonson. I do not know whence the "verse out of a jealous man's part in a play," v. 1, is taken. The 1616 copy was dedicated to Camden. It also gives, as it does for all the plays in it contained, a list of actors; and in doing this was the model imitated by Fletcher: pity it was not by others. A reprint of the 1601 Quarto is sadly needed. Acted before King James 1605, Feb. 2.

6. *Every man out of his Humour*, a Comical Satire, was acted 1599 by the Lord Chamberlain's servants at the Globe, and was published 1600 by W. Holme as composed by the author; it had been abridged when acted. The addition of "the several character of every person" shows that this, the first publication of a play by Jonson, was authorised by him 1600, April 8, when it was entered S. R. This issue, however, was without author's name; but another by N. Ling in the same year, 1600, has "by the author, B. J." I find no entry of transfer of copyright in S. R., but Ling's is (*pace* W. C. Hazlitt) the later edition. In the actor-list the absence of Shakespeare's name is important. See also my *History of the Stage*, p. 135. No one, I suppose, doubts that the "Comical Satires" of Jonson are personally satirical; but to give here all my grounds for identifying the persons satirised would require almost a history of contemporary poetry, non-dramatic as well as dramatic. I must, therefore, limit my observations to a narrow compass. Asper-Macilente is, of course, Jonson.

Puntarvolo with his dog may be Sir John Harington (for the dog see the engraved title of his *Ariosto*); but see *Cynthia's Revels*. Carlo Buffone, "the Grand Scourge or Second Untruss of the Time," is Dekker; Marston, author of *The Scourge of Villany*, being the first untruss. Fastidious Brisk I take to be Daniel; Deliro, possibly Monday; Saviolina, Elizabeth Carey. Sordido is a Burbadge (some country relative of Richard Burbadge; see the arms in iii. 1, "a boar without a head rampant" for a crest, and "a boar's head between two annulets" (badges) for the coat, making up Boar-badge. For Shift cf. *Epigram* 12 and *The London Prodigal*, ii. 3. Clove and Orange are not Dekker and Marston, as some one has guessed them to be. Cordatus and Mitis may be Donne and Chapman. In the Induction Jonson claims that his play is, like *Vetus Comedia*, divided in the Terentian manner, with *Grex* or Chorus, and "within compass of a day's business." The lightly altering the scene by crossing the seas refers to Shakespeare's *Henry* 5, in action at the Globe. Carlo describes Jonson as a well-timbered, one-headed Cerberus; and Cordatus describes Carlo. In i. 1 Macilente (Jonson) is a scholar and a soldier, and the date of the play is fixed by Sordido's almanacs as before July 20. For the use of "humourist," Ind. 2, compare the "irregular humourists," 2 *Henry* 4, *Dram. Pers.* In ii. 1 note Brisk's use of "arrides" and of "real" (royal), and compare Carlo's description of Puntarvolo with Amoretto in *The Return from Parnassus*. In iii. 1, Clove's allusion to *Histrionmastix* (q.v.) fixes the date of that play. In iii. 2, "Shrove tide" (Feb. 20 in 1599), along with Sordido's prognostication (for July), "not having kept touch with him," does not agree with "the compass of a day's business;" and the placing this season in June, to say nothing of revels not

being "contrary to custom" at Shrovetide, is rather too great a blunder even for Fungoso. Perhaps some learned editor may find here a demonstration that Jonson, like Shakespeare, used a "double-time" system. Note in iii. 3 that "parenthesis" means a — (break); ignorance of Elizabethan punctuation has repeatedly misled the commentators on such points as this. In iv. 4 Macilente (Jonson) is "a rawboned anatomy;" his corpulence is of much later date. Captain Pod's motion, Holden's camel, Banks' horse, and the elephant are also mentioned. The duel between Brisk and Luculento is the same as that between Emulo and Owen in *Patient Grisell*, iii. 2. Emulo in ii. i is called a "brisk spangled baby." That play was written 1599, Oct.—Dec. Yet Jonson had been writing with Dekker in September. See *infra*. The cause of this duel was, we are told, a love quarrel; but I think this merely means that Daniel and Drayton (Luculento) were "at jealousies" concerning the patronage of Lucy Countess of Bedford. In iv. 6, "one of Kempe's shoes to throw after you" simply means that Kempe had left the Chamberlain's men; it cannot allude to his dancing to Norwich in 1600, as Gifford says. Armin probably acted the part of Carlo, though Jonson does not mention him. In v. 2, "Justice Silence," of course, alludes to 2 *Henry* 4. For Shift compare *Epigram* 12. In v. 4, I believe that "hog" and usurous cannibals" refers to the Boar-badges, and that all the allusions to swine in this play do likewise; but I do not expect the reader to agree with me. The mention of "spring" and the allusion to the company's new "patent" for the Globe in the Epilogue fix the date of the first performance, I think, to 1599, c. April. The prose ending, which mentions lean Macilente (Jonson) and fat Falstaff, and the Epilogue for the Queen must have been for a

Court presentation at Christmas 1599; but Jonson had before that left writing for the Chamberlain's men. He would, however, be but too willing to add these for performance before Her Majesty. In 1616 this play was dedicated to the Inns of Court. It was revived for King James 1605, Jan. 8.

7. *Page of Plymouth*, T., with Dekker, 1599, Aug. 10, Sept. 2. This was founded on a murder committed 1591.

8. *Robert 2, King of Scots*, T., with Chettle, Dekker, and "other gentleman" [Query (as I think) Wadeson, whose name Henslow avoids mentioning to prevent confusion between the two Antonies, or, as others think, Marston, whose name appears Sept. 28], 1599, Sept. 3, 15, 16, 27. This and the preceding tragedy were for the Admiral's men at the Rose.

9. *Cynthia's Revels*, or *The Fountain of Self-Love*, C. S., was acted by the Chapel children on the stage 1600, at Court 1600-1, entered S. R. 1601, May 23, and published by Jonson. The 1601 edition is evidently the Court copy; that of 1616 is greatly enlarged and insufferably tedious. I judge from the motto, *Quod non dant procures dabit histrio* (which occurs also in other men's plays), that the Queen found the Court play equally so. This motto was altered in 1616, and a Dedication to the Court added, to which Jonson subscribes as "thy servant, not thy slave." This was written c. 1612, when he had ceased for a time to supply Court masks. This later copy replaces the parts omitted at Court—iv. 1b, sport of a thing done; v. 1, 2a, the prize playing—but retains the additions then made in their place. These alterations ought to be, but are not, carefully indicated in modern editions. The structure of the play, as usual in allegorical dramas, is very artificial. The chief characters are—

<i>Lovers.</i>	<i>Ladies.</i>	<i>Pages.</i>
Crites.	Arete.	—
Amorphus.	Phantaste.	Cos.
Asotus.	Argurion.	Morus and Prosaites.
Hedon.	Philautia.	Mercury and Cupid.
Anaides.	Moria.	Gelaia.

Careful readers of the preceding play will recognise that all the men characters are repeated therefrom: Crites (Jonson) from Asper; Amorphus (? B. Rich) from Puntarvolo; Asotus (? Lodge) from Fungoso; Hedon (Daniel) from Brisk; Anaides (Dekker) from Buffone; the Citizen and his wife (omitted in the Court version) from Deliro and Fallace. Narcissus, the original title-name, is Lyly. In the Court additions, v. 3 (the mask of Cynthia) Jonson has imitated Lyly's manner of dialogue, but not his euphuism. In the Induction the "ghosts of three or four plays departed a dozen years since" are mentioned as resuscitated by the Chapel boys. Among these were Kyd's *Hieronimo* and Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis*. In i. 1 Diana's "justice on Acteon" alludes to Nash's punishment for his *Isle of Dogs*. "As Acteon was worried of his own hounds, so is Tom Nash of his *Isle of Dogs*," Meres, 1598. The death of Narcissus is not to be literally taken; it is the same as the death of Willy in Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*, and means Lyly's retirement from play-writing. His true death was in 1606. Amorphus, the Deformed Traveller, who "enriched his country with the true laws of the duello," i. 1, must have been the translator of Saviolo's *Practise*, S. R. 1594, Nov. 19. I think Barnaby Rich is the man. Asotus, the prodigal son to the deceased Philargyrus, who was to have been prætor (Lord Mayor) next year, is, I think, the prodigal Lodge, whose father had been Mayor in 1562, and may have been expecting a second election at his death in 1583. The "politic Ulysses," i. 1, will recur hereafter.

Cos, I suppose, is George Whetstone. Hedon, "a rhymer, and that's thought better than a poet," ii. 1, is certainly Daniel. The description of Anaides, ii. 1, identifies him with Carlo Buffone (Dekker). *Lupus in fabula*, ii. 1., may be Wolf the publisher (see Harvey and iii. 2). Hedon is Envy in iii. 2; compare the Prologue to *The Poetaster*. Anaides, iii. 2, gives out that all Jonson does is "dictated by other men;" so does Demetrius in *The Poetaster*, v. i., in almost the same language, which to me seems conclusive as to the identity of Anaides, and therefore of Carlo Buffone, with Demetrius (Dekker). "I know the time and place where he stole it," says Anaides; "I know the authors from whence he stole, and could trace him too," says Demetrius. In *Satiromastix*, Sc. 2, the lines in iii. 2—

"The one a light voluptuous reveller (Hedon),
The other a strange arrogating puff (Anaides),"

are taken as if spoken of Crispinus-Marston and Fannius-Dekker. But Dekker is certainly wrong as to the Marston part; Daniel was the man intended. In iv. 1, Philautia, Hedon's lady, says, "I should be some Laura or some Delia, methinks;" and Daniel in his Delia sonnets calls his lady "a Laura," *Sonnet* 40. This is quite inapplicable to Marston, or indeed to any one but Daniel. I think the explanation of this wrong attribution of Daniel allusions to Marston led to his reconciliation to Jonson in 1601. It should be noticed that when Jonson was talking to Drummond of his quarrels with Marston he mentions no play but *The Poetaster* as written against him. "Connive," iv. 1, is quoted in *Satiromastix*, Sc. 4, as one of Horace' words adopted by Asinius Bubo. "Some idle Fungoso," applied to Asotus, iv. 1, identifies him with Fungoso in the preceding play; so "the silent gentleman" (Asotus) is the "kinsman to Justice Silence," *Every man out of his Humour*, v. 2. Asotus,

the "goldfinch," iv. 1 reminds one of Lodge's anagrammatic signature, "Golde." Anaides, who puts Jonson down like a schoolboy, but "could not construe an author I quoted at first sight," is surely rather Dekker than Marston. Amorphus' "Science of Courtship," v. 2, which he teaches, iv. 1, should be compared with *As you Like it*, v. 4. It appears from v. 2 that Asotus is brother to the citizen or his wife. Note the full names, Ulysses Polytropus Amorphus and Acolastus Polypragmon Asotus. Polypragmon is particularly suitable to Lodge. "You have played the painter yourself, and limned them (Amorphus, Hedon, and Anaides) to the life" would seem to be written before Marston's first acknowledged play, 1 *Antonio and Mellida*, v. 1, where the painter who "limns" two portraits is undoubtedly Jonson. If any one still doubts whether Hedon be Daniel, I recommend a perusal of Crites' speech in Hedon's character to Philautia on her stolen beauty, along with Daniel's *Sonnet* 19 to Delia. They are too long to quote, and to abridge would weaken the argument, which is conclusive. See under Daniel for his calling Elizabeth Carey Delia, to the offence of the Queen, and note that in this play Cynthia-Diana is carefully addressed as the true "celestial Delia." The praise of Crites put into Cynthia's mouth is a consummate piece of impudence on Jonson's part. Note that when he told Drummond in 1619 that by Criticus he meant Donne, he was not speaking of Criticus in this play, which had been changed to Crites in the 1616 Folio, but of Criticus in the lost "dialogue wise" translation of *The Art of Poetry*. The play was probably publicly acted early in 1600, say c. April.

10. *The Poetaster, or his Arraignment*, C. S., was acted by the Chapel children 1601, and entered S. R. Dec. 21. In the 1616 Folio a Dedication to Richard Martin, the

Recorder, was added. He had answered for Jonson's innocence before the Lord Chief-Justice when an effort was made to suppress the play. Envy (the Induction) is also a name given to Hedon (Daniel), *Cynthia's Revels*, iii. 2. The "armed Prologue" is very important. He appears in "confidence," and is unquestionably alluded to in the "armed Prologue" to *Troilus and Cressida*, who does not "come in confidence." It is, then, in this play of Shakespeare's that we must expect to find the purge that he gave to Jonson in return for the pill, Jonson administered to Marston, cf. *Return from Parnassus*, iv. 3; and whoever will take the trouble to compare the description of Crites in *Cynthia's Revels*, ii. 1, with that of Ajax in *Troilus and Cressida*, i. 2, will see that Ajax is Jonson: slow as the Elephant crowded by Nature with "humors," valiant as the Lion, churlish as the Bear, melancholy without cause (compare Macilente). Hardly a word is spoken of or by Ajax in ii. 3, iii. 3, which does not apply literally to Jonson; and in ii. 1 he beats Thersites of the "mastic jaws," i. 3, 73 (*Histriomastix*, *Theriomastix*), as Jonson "beat Marston," *Drum. Conv.*, 11. Thersites in all respects resembles Marston, the railing satirist. But it will be objected *Troilus and Cressida* was not acted. It was not staled, indeed, on the London stage, but in 1601 the Chamberlain's men travelled and visited the Universities (see *Hamlet* in my *Life of Shakespeare*), and I have no doubt acted *Troilus and Cressida* at Cambridge, where the author of *The Return from Parnassus* saw it. The "purge" is from ii. 3, 203, "he'll be the physician that should be the patient." When the Chamberlain's men returned to London at the close of 1601 Jonson, Marston, and Shakespeare were reconciled, and *Troilus* was not produced on the public stage. But I must not dwell longer on this now. "Put case our author should once more swear

that his play were good" refers to the last line of *Cynthia's Revels* :—

"By [God], 'tis good, and if you like 't you may,"

a strong contrast to Shakespeare's modest title, "As you like it." For the "poet apes" cf. *Epigram* 56. In the play Ovid, I think, is Donne, who divided his attention between law and poetry, and married Anne Moore (Julia) without her father's consent. It is possible that the *Medea* tragedy is the *Medea* MS. Sloane 911; but I have not examined this. It is more likely that some other play is referred to, the name *Medea* being only given for local colour. It was the real name of Ovid's one play. Perhaps the play mentioned as "coming forth from the common players" never did come forth. I cannot trace any tragedy of this date likely to be alluded to, and Ovid says he had only begun it, and is not known to the open stage. Tibullus and his Delia (Plautia) are, I suppose, Daniel and Elizabeth Carey; Virgil, Chapman (already at work on his *Homer*). Horace is known to be Jonson; Crispinus, Marston; and Demetrius, Dekker. Albius and Cloe are identical with Deliro and Fallace in *Every man out of his Humour*. Lupus was certainly some one named Wolf; the allusions in many places to the English name are too numerous to admit of any other explanation; but whether Wolf the printer, Wolf the apothecary, or some other I know not. The players *Histrion* and *Æsop* belonged to Pembroke's company, as we shall see. *Tucca*, the skeldering captain, is, I feel sure, the same as the skeldering *Shift*, who never was a soldier, in *Every man out of his Humour*. The play took fifteen weeks in the writing.

In 1 i. the translation of Ovid's *Elegy* is taken bodily, with slight alterations, from Marlow, and was inserted as "by B. I." by the side of Marlow's in the 3rd (2nd Middleburgh) edition of his translation. Lupus is a magistrate, a

"venerable cropshin;" compare Justice Crop in *Satiromastix*. In ii. 1, Crispinus has little legs as a gentleman born, and his arms with the bloody toe or Mars-toen (for Mars means red), illustrate the way in which Jonson uses this heraldic method of designating his characters. Compare Boar-badge, *supra*. Hermogenes is a musician, but not a poet [is he meant for John Daniel?]. In iii. 1 (from Horace's *Satires*, i. 9) Crispinus has an ash-coloured feather, and uses the language of Pistol, "do not exhale me thus;" cf. *Henry* 5, ii. 1. The *Histrion* "Gulch" (cf. *Histrionmastix*) is of a company that has Fortune (the Admiral's men) on its side, and that, if Marston write for it, "shall not need to travel with pumps full of gravel" any more. This is Pembroke's company, just settled, after years of strolling in the country, 1600 Nov., at the Rose under Henslow, who was also managing the Fortune. They do not produce Humorous Revels and Satires, like the Blackfriars boys the other side of Tyler, but are of the round theatres (Globes) on the Bankside, who enact Triumphs (pageants). Tucca purveys boys for them, the 2 Pyrgi, who act pieces from *The Battle of Alcazar*, ii. 3; *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, Sc. 11; and 2 *Hieronimo*, ii. 1. These were plays belonging to the Admiral's men. Tucca is, therefore, connected with that company. The players he invites to supper, 1, lean Polyphagus; 2, fiddler Ænobarbus; 3, politician Æsop (compare the politician players in *Histrionmastix*); 4, "my zany," Frisker; 5, "my mango," the fat fool, belong to Pembroke's company. Frisker is probably Kemp; the others Duke, Pallant, Beeston, &c. They are poor and starved this winter, and mean to hire Demetrius (Dekker, who wrote for the Rose and the Fortune) to bring Horace in in a play. But they did not. It was the King's men and Paul's boys who did that. The description of Demetrius as a rank

slanderer, &c., is conclusive as to his identity with Buffone and Anaides. In iv. 1 Crispinus plagiarises from Horace. The *Histrion* in iv. 2 is not he of iii. 1, but the *Æsop* of v. 1. In iv. 4 the "journeyman" playwright who writes to order is defined. Compare the Prologue to *Volpone*. In v. 1 note the reference to *Julius Cæsar*, iii. 1: the "monopoly of playing," i.e., patent sought by Pembroke's men; the Chamberlain's and Admiral's had theirs already: the asses' ears fixed on *Lupus*; compare *Timon* (the University play): *Tucca*'s having served in the wars against Mark Antony, his being only known for a "motion" [can he be Captain Pod, and did he exhibit at Paris Garden?], and especially the consummate impudence of Jonson, who had been marked with the Tyburn T, in arraigning Crispinus under the *Lex Remmia* that he might be branded with the C of calumny. For Marston's words disgorged see under Marston. *Tucca*'s subornation of the poetasters and his bifronted punishment may perhaps some time lead to his identification. With the locking up of Crispinus in some dark place compare the imprisonment of *Malvolio* in *Twelfth Night*. Finally, note that *Demetrius* as much as Crispinus affected the title of *Untrusser*, neglect of which fact has led to the common mistake in making Marston Carlo Buffone.

Jonson, after having been brought before the Lord Chief-Justice for this play, wrote an apology for it, which was restrained in 1601, but published in 1616. It is a dialogue between *Nasutus*, a name from *Martial* [but query with a glance at *Ovidius Naso*, "the well nosed"], *Polypusus*, and the author, who says he had been provoked for three years on every stage; i.e., at Paul's in *Antonio and Mellida* and *Jack Drum*; at the Curtain in *Histrionomastix*; at the Rose in *Patient Grissell*; at the Globe (but not till *The Poetaster* had been acted) in ? *Twelfth Night*; and by the

Chamberlain's men subsequently, in *Troilus and Cressida* at the University, and in *Satiromastix* in London, which was also acted by the Paul's boys. But Jonson says nothing about the provocations he had given to others. The above list is not exhaustive; nor can the subject be at present exhaustively treated. Jonson defends himself, but I doubt if with entire candour, against the charge of satirising the lawyers and captains, Lupus and Tucca, "by their particular names" (Query Wolf), but acknowledges as to the players. As to other poets (Daniel, &c.), he ignores the whole matter. He introduces *Epigram* 108 on true Soldiers; and as to his slowness in making but one play a year, wishes he could do less. Play-writing with him was always a business, a mere matter of pay, and most deservedly he never succeeded commercially in it. While Shakespeare, who threw his whole soul into whatever he did, made a fortune, Jonson for all his plays before 1619 did not get £200.

11. *A Tale of a Tub*, C. In its original shape this play was certainly acted in Queen Elizabeth's time. All through it, in scores of instances, we meet with "the queen, her majesty," and the like. "Old Blurt," ii. 1, refers to Middleton's *Blurt Master Constable*, 1601. "John Clay and Cloth Breech," i. 2, alludes to the moral of *Cloth Breeches*, acted by the Chamberlain's men, S. R. 1600, May 27, and not to Greene's tract or its precursor. Diogenes Scriben is S. Rowlands, whose *Letting of Humours blood in the head vein* was published 1600, "with a new Morisco, danced by seven Satyrs upon the bottom of *Diogenes' tub*." In-and-In Medlay in 1600 would no doubt be Monday. The date of production was almost certainly 1601, Feb 14, and the company the Chapel boys, from whom the play was lineally handed down to Queen Henrietta's, who had it in 1634. For its reproduction by them, and the additions then made, iv. 2, v. 2,

"can any man make—to him alone;" v. 3, "I must confer"—end of play, see *infra*. Note that Scriben is of Chilcot, Finsbury, and not Chalcot, as the editors will have it. The word-play on smiter and scymitar and the tune of Dargison occur iv. 3. This play was not published by Jonson.

12. *Jeronymo (The Spanish Tragedy)*, q.v. Jonson wrote "additions" for the Admiral's men at the Fortune 1601, Sept. 25; 1602, June 24.

13. *Richard Crookback*, 1602, June 24, for the same company. Probably an alteration of Marlow's play (on which Shakespeare's was founded), brought by Jonson from the Chamberlain's company, just as he had taken *Jeronymo* from them, first to the Chapel boys, and then to the Admiral's men. This was apparently retaliation for their publishing *Every Man in his Humour* without his consent. See the *Malcontent* for their reprisal.

14. *Sejanus his Fall*, T. Acted by the King's servants 1603; therefore after May 17, when their patent was granted; and as the theatres were closed, on account of the plague, from June 9 to Dec. 22, probably c. Christmas. Entered S. R. 1604, Nov. 2, for Blount, but not published till 1605 by Thorpe. The 1616 Folio has a list of actors, of whom Shakespeare was one. "Northampton was his mortal enemy for beating on a St. George's day [1605, when he was made Knight of the Garter] one of his attendants. He was called before the Council for his *Sejanus*, and accused both of popery and treason by him" (*Drum. Conv.*, 13). This was the occasion of Jonson's second imprisonment with Chapman (already noticed *supra*) from which they were released by the intervention of the Earl of Suffolk. As this nobleman's applause of the play is especially alluded to in Chapman's Complimentary Verses, the publication was pro-

bably subsequent to the imprisonment, and that was after 1605, May 4. The intended publication in 1604 Nov. had been, no doubt, interrupted by the *Eastward Ho* trouble. Chapman's imprisonment with Jonson in this matter leaves small doubt that his was the second pen mentioned in the Address. Chapman, frightened by the second imprisonment, seems to have withdrawn his consent to the publication of his part of *Sejanus*, although he had consented to that of *Eastward Ho*, and Jonson had to replace it with "weaker lines of his own," a phrase he would hardly have used of any other contemporary in 1605. At this time Jonson was living with Esme, Lord Aubigny, and to him he dedicated the play in the 1616 Folio. It was condemned by the multitude: applauded by the gentry, *i.e.*, by Suffolk, &c. (Fennor, *Descriptions*, 1616). I suspect the incriminated parts of *Sejanus* were by Chapman. It was he who wrote the *Eastward Ho* bits against the Scots, and he that gave subsequent offence in *Byron*. In the Address Jonson refers to the translation of Horace' *Ars Poetica*, which he had just finished. He was now preparing the notes from Aristotle. The last sentence of the Argument in the 1605 Quarto, which mentions "God miraculously working" to preserve King James, would suit the Gunpowder Plot better than Raleigh's, and indicates a date of publication c. Nov. Jonson's elaborate notes were depreciated in Marston's Address to his *Sophonisba* 1606, Mar. 17.

15. *Eastward Ho*, C. Acted by the Queen's Revels boys 1604, c. Nov. See Chapman.

16. *Volpone*, or *The Fox*, C. Acted by the King's men 1605. Published 1607, with a Dedication to the Two Universities. It had been acted "with love and acceptance at Oxford and Cambridge." See further under *Mucedorus*. The actor-list of the 1616 Folio does not contain Shake-

speare's name. Jonson refers to the *Eastward Ho* matter in his Dedication, and claims that in the "works" entirely his there are no personalities except to mimics, buffoons, &c. (Marston, Dekker); he has not attacked public persons (Northumberland), nation (the Scots), order, or state (soldiers or lawyers); other men's crimes have been imputed to him. The date of this Address, "11th Feb. 1607," must mean 1607-8, and the play was published in 1607[-8], which is to be taken as before 25th Mar. 1608. The acting at the Universities was most likely during the plague, 1606 July-Dec., but may have been 1607 July-Nov. The date of original production must be 1606, before 25th Mar. The new star, ii. 1, appeared 1604, Oct. 10, and was visible about a year. The porpoises and whale at Woolwich date 1606, Jan. 19, and a few days after (*Stow*, p. 881); a second lion whelp in the Tower, 1605, Feb. 26 (*Stow*, p. 857); a former one was on 5th Aug. 1604 (*Stow*, p. 844). But a lioness had two whelps 1605, July 27, according to *Stow*, p. 870, and these must be those here alluded to. Gifford's dates are all wrong, and have given me much trouble. The whale gives the decisive date. The play (which was only five weeks in writing) must have been produced Jan.-Feb. 1606, immediately before *Mucedorus* (*q.v.*) was acted on Shrove Sunday, Mar 2. A most interesting passage in the Prologue shows how joint plays were written; the second hand was either 1, coadjutor, where the authors had equal powers each over his own share of the play, as in the Beaumont and Fletcher series; 2, novice, where the second hand was learning his business, and 4, the tutor, superintended and corrected, as in the early form of some of Shakespeare's plays; or 3, journeyman, where a part of the play was put out to an underwriter, as one act of *The Arraignment of London* was to Cyril Tourneur. The passage in iii. 2 about

authors who steal from Montaigne, Guarini, &c., is directed against Daniel, whose Arcadian pastorals had been acted before Royalty 1605 Aug. It has been absurdly supposed to point to Shakespeare. Jonson, who cared for the classics, had a poor opinion of the French and Italian authors, whom, says Drummond, he did not understand. "Fitting the time and catching the Court ear" certainly refers to Daniel: Shakespeare never wrote mask or pastoral for the Court. The verses to Celia, iii. 6, seem to me to indicate personal reference. They are reproduced in *The Forest*, 5, and Celia was a real person. See *Underwoods*, 26 (47).

17. *Byron*, 1608. See Chapman.

18 *Epicœne*, or *The Silent Women*, C., was acted in 1609[–10] by the Children of Her Majesty's Revels at Whitefriars (see Prologue); and therefore after the date when the patent was granted, 1610, Jan. 4, and of course before Mar. 25. Entered S. R. 1610, Sept. 20. The earliest known edition is of 1612. It was dedicated in the 1616 Folio to Sir Francis Stuart, and had been subjected to "contumely." Jonson anticipates a friendly verdict from Stuart, as he has not changed a syllable from the first copy. There is no reference to *The Poetaster* or any other early play, as Gifford carelessly supposed. The anecdote preserved by Drummond, that the name Silent was well chosen because no man would say *Plaudite*, confirms the view that it was badly received at first—probably on account of its personal satire. Truewit appears to be Jonson. The name Clerimont and the verses i. 1 from Bonefons (born at Clermont) seem to point at the "Swan" who wrote *Pancharis*, for Bonefons had written a *Pancharis*. Is this English book founded on Bonefons, and is Clerimont the Swan? Sir John Daw is Sir John Harington. Compare ii. 2, "Every man that writes in verse is not a poet," with

"the common sort term all that is written in verse poetry," Harrington's *Apology of Poetry*; Daw's enumeration of authors, ii. 2, with Harrington's references in the *Apology*, especially in disparagement of the ancients and in reference to Aristotle; and Daw's verses with Harrington's *Epigrams*, which Jonson said were Narrations, not Epigrams, *Drum. Conv.*, 3. There is a reference to Harrington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* in iv. 2. Some one more familiar than I with Harrington's life may be able to identify La Foole. The plague of 1608 July-1609 Nov. is the one alluded to in i. 1. There is, as for all the 1616 Folio plays, a list of actors, and their difference from the Chapel children's lists ought to have shown the editors that a different company is here in question. This play, like *The Fox* and other plays, has hitherto been dated a year too early, in consequence of the use of Old Style dates.

19. *The Alchemist*, C., was acted 1610 by the King's servants. Entered S. R. 1610, Oct. 3. Published 1612. This delay, combined with that of the publication of *Epicæne*, indicates some "staying" of these comedies. In the 1616 Folio the "*prius*" in the motto no doubt refers to *Albumazar*, but that play was presented 1615, Mar. 9, and published S. R. April 28; not in 1614, as Gifford and Halliwell say. The 1616 issue was dedicated to Lady Mary Wroth. The Address to the Reader (1610 Oct.) refers to the "mocking at the term," Art, in *The Winter's Tale*, iv. 4, 85-95. The "dances and antics" allude to the dances in the same scene; and however it may savour of "clumsy sarcasm," I do not hesitate to affirm that "those who, to gain the opinion of copy, utter all they can," is meant of Shakespeare, with regard to whose lines Jonson said he wished "he had blotted a thousand." In the Acrostic Argument (1610, Oct.) the plague is said to be hot in London. It prevailed from July 12

to Nov. 22. In iv. 2 Doll is born in 1591; in ii. 1 she is nineteen in 1610: this shows how accurately time is marked, as, indeed, it generally is in these old plays. For Ward, v. 2, cf. Daborne and S. R. 1609, June 2, July 3. In iii. 2, v. 3, the date is placed in the eighth month of 1610, and ii. 1 the plague is still in the kingdom. It is clear that the play was written in the plague-time, and could not then be performed in London; cf. "the players will thank you then," *i.e.*, if you drive out the plague, ii. 1. It was, therefore, Jonson's intention to publish it in Oct.; but as the plague "fell below 40" in Nov., the publication was deferred and the play was acted. This explanation does not apply to *Epicæne*.

20. *Catiline his Conspiracy*, T., was acted by the King's men 1611, and published the same year. In the Address of the 1611 edition it appears that the people commended the two first acts, but disliked the oration of Cicero iv. 2. The want of success, as usual with Jonson, only provoked early publication. The learned notes do not appear here, as in *Sejānus*, but there is a chorus in Seneca's manner. The Dedication is to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Note the "places in Court go otherwise" in the Address. Jonson wrote no Court mask between 1611 Jan. and 1613 Dec. There must have been a quarrel with Inigo Jones at this time. The 1616 Folio stops here.

21. *Bartholomew Fair*, C., was acted at the Hope Theatre 1614, Oct. 31, by the Lady Elizabeth's servants (who had been joined by Prince Charles'), and at Court on Nov. 1. Published by Jonson 1631. The motto, as usual, refers to its reception (favourable in this case); but I cannot spare space to indicate all these allusions, though the reader of Jonson should not neglect them. This play in 1631 had a Prologue and Epilogue to King James; hence the statement

in the title that it was "dedicated" to him in 1614. In the Induction Brome is mentioned as "the poet's man;" the "earthquake in the Fair," made by "some writer that I know," alludes, I think, to *The Faithful Friends*, v. 1 (by Daborne? who retired in 1614), "if we must down, let us make an earthquake tumbling;" the kindheart, juggler, mousetrapman, &c., are forecasts of *Pan's Anniversary*; the pump and "witty young masters of the Inns of Court" alludes to the "stately fountain" in the Gray's Inn *Mask of Flowers*, 1614, Jan. 6; Adams, an actor with Tarleton, is mentioned; "the bears within" confirms my identification of the Hope with the Bear Garden; the admission money, 6d. to 2s. 6d., is mentioned; *Jeronymo*, c. 1588 (the first part, not *The Spanish Tragedy*, which Jonson always calls *Hieronymo*), and *Andronicus*, 1594, are also mentioned as of twenty-five to thirty years' standing (over the mark, but these plays were before Jonson's time); the servant monster, nest of antics, "Tales, Tempests, and such-like drolleries to mix his head with other men's heels," are directly aimed at *The Tempest* and *Winter's Tale*, more outspoken than in the *Alchemist* preface, because Jonson is now writing for a rival company. The stage is said to be as dirty and stinking as Smithfield. This may seem strange, but Rossiter's Blackfriars private house was then in contemplation. Littlewit, who makes the puppet-play for the motion-man, i. 1, whose wife is "a Delia," v. 3, is Samuel Daniel. The Damon and Pythias of the puppets, v. 3, are burlesqued from the Thirsis and Palæmon of his *Queen's Arcadia*, 1605, Aug. 30. This pastoral is founded on fact, and many characters are continued in *Hymen's Triumph*, 1614, Feb. 3. Attention is drawn to this play in iv. 2, where Quarlous takes his word Argalus out of Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Quarlous his Palæmon from the play *The Queen's Arcadia*. The notion that Palamon

and Arcite have any concern in this is most unlucky. Gifford was right in identifying Littlewit with the Dacus of Sir John Davies, *Epigram* 30, who made plays for the puppets, but did not see that the "silent eloquence" of *Epigram* 45 identifies Dacus with Daniel. He thinks Dekker was meant; but, virulent as Jonson was, he has not been accused by any one except Gifford of attacking a quondam friend when impoverished and imprisoned. That Lantern Leatherhead the puppet-man is Inigo Jones I cannot doubt. Jones had prepared the show part of Daniel's *Tethys' Festival* 1610, June 5, just after the rupture between Jones and Jonson, who worked together till 1609, Feb. 2. He is "parcel poet and an inginer," ii. 1, his poetry consisting of his doggrel to Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, June 7. His "velvet jerkin" is mentioned iii. 1; he is sought for "at your great city suppers," such as the mask of the *Four Seasons* (q.v.), can "set out a mask," and "engrosses all," iii. 1 (compare Dominus Do-all in *The Expostulation*); puts down Cokely as puppet-master (compare *The Tale of a Tub*), and "baited the fellow in the bear's skin," the "fighting bear of last year" in *Love Restored* (q.v.); he succeeds Captain Pod as motion-master, v. 1; is the mouth of the dumb shows, v. 2 (compare *The Expostulation* with its "lantern-lerry" and *Tale of a Tub* with its "lantern-paper," which allude to the very name in this play); presents nothing but what is licensed by authority with the Master of the Revels' hand to it, &c., &c. This is all Jones. Note by the way the allusions to Burbadge and Ostler of the King's men, and to Field of the Lady Elizabeth's as Burbadge's rival, in v. 3; also to female actors (who were they?) in Overdo's speech, "The female putteth on the apparel of the male." There is much more personal allusion in this play which I have as yet only partially deciphered.

22. *The Sad Shepherd*, P., was published 1641; Acts i., ii., iii. (part), and with it the plot of i., ii., iii. complete. In the Prologue Jonson says, "he that hath feasted you these forty years." This must have been written at the end of his career, and the latest date of any writing known as his is 1635, Jan. 1. This would give 1595, Jan. 1, as the date of his earliest play; and this cannot be far from the truth, for he was mentioned by Meres as one of our best "in tragedy" in 1598, and tragedies by him must have existed anterior to 1597 Oct., from which date we have complete lists of his plays for 1597-8 in Henslow's *Diary*: no tragedy there appears; but plays in 1595-7 (*e.g.*, *Cæsar*, *Harry* 5, *Julian*) may have been by him. He also mentions "a heresy of late let fall That mirth by no means fits a Pastoral." This leads us to *Drum. Conv.* 16, "He hath a Pastoral entituled *The May Lord*. His own name is Alkin; Ethra, the Countess of Bedford's; Mogibell Overbury; the old Countess of Suffolk, an enchantress. Other names are given to Somerset's lady, [Lady] Pembroke, the Countess of Rutland, Lady Wroth. In his first story Alkin cometh in mending his broken pipe. Contrary to all other pastorals, he bringeth the clowns making mirth and foolish sports." The appearance of Alkin in both plays; the witch of Papplewick in one, and an enchantress in the other; the palpable identity of Robin Hood and Maid Marian as possessors of Belvoir and Sherwood with Roger Earl and Elizabeth Countess of Rutland (for Belvoir was their seat, and the Earl was Justice in Eyre of Sherwood Forest); the correspondence in number of the female characters in the two plays; the allusion to mirth in Pastoral, which could not have been let fall "of late" in 1635, since Jonson discussed it with Drummond in 1619; the witch's daughter Douce in one play, and Frances Howard, Somerset's lady, in the other; the time of action,

“youthful June”—all point to the identification of these two plays. Moreover, *The May Lord* is the only play unacted mentioned by Jonson to Drummond. Part of only one play was burned in the 1623 fire (see *Execration on Vulcan*), and only of one unnoted play was part found in Jonson's MSS., for I do not suppose any one will take *The Fall of Mortimer*, after what I have said of it above, to fall under that category.

I must here intercalate a personal explanation. Casually dipping into *Ben Jonson* by John Addington Symonds in *The English Worthies*, published by Longmans 1886, and edited by Andrew Lang, “all rights reserved,” I was surprised and delighted to find that a critic of whom I had heard so favourably from a friend of his should have come to the same conclusion as myself respecting the identity of these plays, p. 190 *seq.*; and as he does not mention my name once in his book, I of course thought his investigations were independent of my own. When, on further examination, I found that he agreed with me in the division of Jonson's life into four periods, in supposing (contrary to all other critics known to me) that he was attacked in Marston's *Satires*, p. 37, and above all in stating that Jonson was with Shakespeare when they acted at the Curtain, p. 24 (a fact entirely unknown to any writer on Jonson before me), my delight was increased. My article, which had been published in *Shakespeariana* 1884 June, was not known to the general English public, and I took it for granted that no honourable man would borrow from it without acknowledgment, and that no man base enough to parade its results as his own would escape the keen eyes of our English reviewers. Yet one point perplexed me. No one acquainted with Stage History could talk about the Chamberlain's men as using the Blackfriars in Elizabeth's reign, p. 24, and I scrutinised the book. I did not find any single new fact in the whole of

it, except that Jonson had showed "*The Pirates*" to their Majesties, p. 46. On referring to my article in *Shakespeareana*, I found, among a number of misprints which are a disgrace to that periodical, *The Pirates* misprinted for *The Penates*. Evidently some shameless plagiarist has copied this misprint, and, as I suppose, misled Mr. J. A. Symonds, who will no doubt, on this public appeal, give an explanation of the source from which he obtained his statements. I do not apply to him privately, because some years since I wrote to him on another matter, and not receiving an answer, suppose that my letter miscarried—a risk I cannot incur in this case. I confidently rely on Mr. Symonds' aid to help me to expose this appropriator of my property.

Returning to the play. It was no doubt written close to the Overbury trial, commenced 1615 April. Somerset's lady would hardly have been made a witch's daughter till then, and it was on 20th Jan. 1615 that Jonson's altered mask, omitting Somerset's name, was entered S. R.; nor could it have well been much later. I should date it 1615, c. Mar., and in the original Prologue read "xx years." Whether it was ever finished I doubt. The plot of only three acts is extant, and the loss of the end of the third act would sufficiently account for what Jonson says in *The Excecration*. Had the whole play been written, I should have expected to find the plot of all five acts prefixed to the fragment. The applicability of the name *Maid Marian* to the Countess of Rutland will require no proof for readers of Beaumont's *Elegy* on her, and of Drummond's *Conversations*. A pastoral involving the story of so many people since dead could never have been acted, and it is difficult to suppose what Jonson meant to do with it; but as Goffe, who died in 1627, imitated many passages of it in his *Careless Shepherdess*, it is certain that he allowed the MS. to be circulated.

23. *The Devil is an ass*, C., was acted by the King's men 1616 at Blackfriars. Published by Jonson 1631. The Prologue complains of the spectators who sat on the stage as unduly crowding it, mentions Drayton's *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, and alludes to Dekker's *If this be not a good play the Devil is in't*. In i. 1 Heywood's *Wise Woman of Hogsdon* is alluded to; and so are *The Lancashire Witches* of 1613, Vennor, Cokeley, and the standard in Chepe. In i. 2 Gresham, Forman, Franklin, Fisk, Savory, are mentioned; they were concerned in the Overbury matter, and Bretnor is their successor (compare *Rollo*). Play-bills (programmes) are also spoken of. The story of i. 3, from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, iii. 5, has been used in other plays. The allusions to the Peak in Derbyshire should be noted by those who care to unravel Jonson's personal satire (compare *The Metamorphosed Gipsies*). The "noble house" which pretends to a Duke's title, ii. 1, is, I think, that of Stuart. Lodowick was made Earl of Richmond 1613, and Duke in 1623. The song in ii. 2 identifies Mrs. Fitzdottrel and Charis, and that Charis was Lady E. Hatton no reader of Charis, *Underwoods*, 16, 17 (35, 36), *The Metamorphosed Gipsies*, and the present play will, I think, be inclined to dispute. Here, as in U. 17 (36), we have the "milk and roses," the "banks of kisses," and the husband who is the "just excuse," for anything can be done to him, ii. 2. That the husband, Sir. E. Coke, should not be mistaken, Jonson makes Fitzdottrel an "esquire of Norfolk." Wittipol, returned from travel, who had seen Mrs. Fitzdottrel before he went, is evidently Jonson. The disguise of Fitzdottrel as the sham demoniac, the boy of Norwich, Thomas Harrison, v. 3 (with many details borrowed from the parallel case of Will Somers, the boy of Burton, v. 5), is a covert allusion to Coke's adoption of the popular witch doctrines in the Overbury trial; and his

jealousy of his wife was shown in this same trial, when he refused to read the document of "what ladies loved what lords," because, as was popularly supposed (and it must be remembered in these plays common rumour rather than exact truth should always be expected), his own wife's name headed the list. The motto to this play, *Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris*, I think implies that we are to look on its characters as real persons. The date of the play is probably late in 1616, after Coke's discharge in November. Jonson was always ready to attack the fallen. How he had flattered Coke in 1613 may be seen in U. 44 (65). There are several compliments to the actor Dick Robinson in ii. 1, iii. 1. The "Globes and Mermaids" (theatres and taverns), iii. 1, should be compared with "your Globes, your Triumphs" (theatres and pageants) in *The Poetaster*, on which so much nonsense has been written. Meercraft is, I think, Sir Giles Mompesson, the projector and monopolist; he was knighted 1616, Nov. 16. Plutarchus Gilthead, who is writing the lives of the great men in the City; the captain who writes of the Artillery Garden "to train the youth," &c., iii. 1, is, I think, Edmond Howes, whose continuation of Stow's chronicle was published 1615. Query, Is Howes the "Howe, do you call him" of *Epicæne*, ii. 3? For brevity, I always quote Howe's continuation as "Stow," the date being sufficient guide as to authorship. The falling off in this play of Jonson's power is manifest, and for literary criticism it would be much better to begin Jonson's Second Period at the date of his laureate pension, 1616, Feb. 1, than in 1612; but for dramatic history this latter date is much more convenient.

1616-25. See *The Widow*, *The Spanish Curate*, *The City Madam*, *Julius Cæsar*.

24. *The Staple of News*, C., was acted by the King's men

1625[-6]; entered S. R. 1626, April 14 (but the publication was, I think, interrupted by Jonson's paralysis). Published by Jonson 1631. It was acted at Court, probably in 1626 Feb. The mention of Shrovetide (which began Feb. 19 in 1626) in the Induction, coupled with "now at the Coronation," 1626, Feb. 2, fixes the public performance to Candlemas, and the Court one to Shrovetide. This is one more instance of the misdating of Jonson's plays by Gifford, &c., through the neglect of the use of Old Style. In the Induction occurs a reference to the celebrated line in *Julius Cæsar*, "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause," and one to Jonson's tunlike unwieldiness, which developed c. 1618. In the stage Prologue "left to write" means began to write badly; not has ceased writing for years, as often, but absurdly, interpreted. For the plot compare *News from the Moon*. There are many allusions to Nat Butter in i. 2, iii. 2, v. 1; to *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* in the Induction (2); to Dr. Lamb, Ind. 2, 4; to Pocahontas, ii. 1; to the triply named Infanta of Spain, ii. 1. Act iii. gave offence for its many personal allusions, not so much those to Gondomar, Spalato, Middleton's *Game at Chess*, the Amboyna massacre, Archy, &c., as 1. That to "the fine poet" Daniel, whose "silent eloquence" is recognised even by Gifford in this instance. He therefore prefixed an exculpatory Address, in which the meaning he attached to the motto already quoted, *Ficta voluptatis*, &c., is unmistakable. 2. That to Inigo Jones, the cook poet, wherein there is much repetition from *Neptune's Triumph* (q.v.), which had been publicly performed at the Fortune 1625 Dec. Madrigal, the "Horace, his Art of Poetry," who begins all works and finishes none, iv. 1, is, of course, Jonson. For the use made of Aristophanes see Gifford, who has quite sufficiently treated that question.

25. *The New Inn*, or *The Light Heart*, C., was "negligently" played by the King's servants 1629 [Jan. 19], "squeamishly censured" by the King's subjects; entered S. R. 1631, April 17; published 1631 with an argument or plot and "characterism of the chief actors." The chief offence was in the character of the chambermaid, "Secretary Sis" (Query Cecil or Cicely). That this is no imaginary character is clear from *Charis* 8. Charis must be the Frances Lady Frampul of the play. I am not learned enough in the history of the Hatton family to explain the personal allusions. The statement, ii. 2, that the Shirleys were a great Irish family is interesting. There is a quotation, iv. 3, "Every stoop he made Was like an eagle's at a flight of cranes," which I have tried in vain to trace. For the part of this play common to it and *Love's Pilgrimage* see under Fletcher. The Epilogue [for the Court] "in the Poet's defence, but the Play lived not in opinion to have it spoken," would seem to have been written in expectation of a Court presentation. The stage Epilogue says, "the maker is sick and sad," and the words, "had he lived the care of King and Queen" must precede the gift of £100 in his sickness, U. 60 (80). The *Ode* to himself, and the answers to it, have been sufficiently noticed above.

26. *The Magnetic Lady*, or *Humors Reconciled*, C., was licensed to the King's men 1632, Oct. 12. On 1633, Oct. 24, the players in their second petition to the High Commission Court "did Herbert right," and the Archbishop "laid the whole fault" of this play on them. In their first petition they had excused themselves on Herbert and Jonson; *i.e.*, denied having made interpolations (mostly oaths; see Gill's verses). In the Induction or Chorus, Damplay, who derives magnetic from *magnus*, and requires "a

portal according to Vitruvius," is certainly Inigo Jones (Vitruvius Hoop). I think this Chorus, which at the end is changed into an "Epilogue for the King," was added for a Court presentation. Jones had been present at the first public performance with Butter, and laughed "because there was nothing worth laughing at" (Gill). Note Dam-play's use of the word "business," and compare *Mercury Vindicated* thereon. Ironside, the "fat, corpulent, unwieldy fellow," iii. 3, is certainly Jonson; Diaphanous Silkworm, the courtier, is, I think, Aurelian Townsend (the Town top of iii. 4), who had supplanted Jonson as Court mask-maker. I cannot agree with Gifford that "one who had lost his ears," iii. 4, in 1632 was Prynne, who wore his till 1634. I think Alexander Leighton is intended. Nat. Butter, Allestrie's almanacs, *The Practice of Piety*, are alluded to iv. 1. Thinwit, "surveyor of the projects," I do not know. The Ember week, v. 2, must be that of 1632 Sept. The painting of all city statues, v. 5, is remarkable. Alexander Gill's virulent verses on this play, already mentioned, are further noticeable as alluding to Jonson's having sent a play to the Fortune (*i.e.*, *The Fortunate Isles*, *q.v.*), and the low estimate in which Pursfoot and Trundell were held as printers. Zouch, Townley and Jonson answered him. Gill had been sentenced to lose his ears for treasonous talk, and it may be that he took the iii. 4 allusion to himself. This play was not published till 1641.

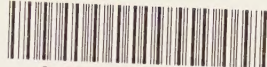
27. *The Tale of a Tub*, C., was altered in 1633; licensed for Queen Henrietta's men May 7, and performed at Court 1634, Jan. 14. But the added part iv. inter-
 looping scene [iv. 2, Gifford]; v. 2*b*, "Can any man—him
 alone;" v. 3*b*, "I must confer"—end of play, including
 Vitruvius Hoop's part (assimilated to In-and-in Medlay's

when published), was all left out, because Inigo Jones excepted to it. In this part we have the characteristics which identify Jones with characters in other plays; he is the "Do-all," and talks of "feasible and conduce," v. 2; makes blunders in Latin, must be joined with no man, and uses "lantern paper," v. 3; makes masks, v. 4 (where the "half lord chamberlain in my master's absence" is a severe hit at Herbert; Astley being the nominal, but he the acting Master of the Revels); acts as architect, motion-maker, and interpreter to the puppets in v. 5. This was Jonson's last production for the stage; his repeated failures completely broke him down, and nothing can be more absurd than the attribution of some of his best work to subsequent years. For his Masks, &c., see the next volume.

END OF VOL. I.

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